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ABSTRACT

Since the end of the Cold War, the international community has been called upon with increasing frequency to intervene in the world's hot spots. The United States has taken up its share of responsibilities. U.S. military forces have bombed targets in Serbia, waded ashore in Haiti, patrolled cease-fire lines in Bosnia, skirmished over the skies of northern Iraq, and protected humanitarian agencies in Somalia. Meanwhile, U.S. diplomats are busier too. Few crises arise in the international arena without drawing in the United States. A new set of foreign policy questions has emerged that citizens have only just begun to consider. This unit thrusts students into this new foreign policy frontier. On the first day the unit opens with a discussion of the concepts featured in part one of the background reading. The second day focuses attention on the forces that shaped the international community's role in conflict resolution during the Cold War. The third and fourth days of the lesson plan feature a simulation in which students assume the roles of advocates for the four options. Students respond to current case studies to illuminate their assigned topics. Finally, on the fifth day, students develop their own options and apply their views to a hypothetical crisis. The accompanying Teachers' Resource Book contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. Each lesson contains objectives, required reading, handouts, and homework. (BT)

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CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role

PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

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Dominique Arel, *Research Associate*
Watson Institute

Jarat Chopra, *Research Associate*
Watson Institute

P. Terrence Hopmann, *Professor of Political Science*
Watson Institute

William Rose, *Associate Professor of Political Science*
Connecticut College

Stephen Shenfield, *Research Associate*
Watson Institute

Peter Uvin, *Associate Professor*
Watson Institute

Thomas G. Weiss, *Research Director*
Global Security Program, Watson Institute

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Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role is part of a continuing series on public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly. Finally, we wish to thank The Pew Charitable Trusts, for without their financial support the series would not have come to fruition.

CHOICES

for the 21st Century
Education Project
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Director
Susan Graseck

Curriculum Developer
Mark Malkasian

Coordinator of Public Programs
Megan Secatore

Program Associates
Lucy Mueller

Staff Associate
Anne Campau Prout

Office Assistant
Cynthia Manzotti

Research Associates
Don Bakker
Patricia Keenan-Byrne

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the **Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies** at Brown University.

Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

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CONTENTS

Introduction: Challenges to Peacekeeping	1
Part I: The International Community's Changing Role	2
Part II: Four Historical Case Studies	10
Part III: Five Current Case Studies	17
Options in Brief	30
Options	31-38
Option 1: Cooperate to Strengthen the UN	31
Option 2: Protect Our Interests	33
Option 3: Keep Our Distance	35
Option 4: Stand Up for Principle	37
Supplementary Documents	39
Suggested Reading	49

THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROJECT is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

THE THOMAS J. WATSON JR. INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to studying global problems and developing international initiatives to benefit society.

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Introduction: Challenges to Peacekeeping

In a remote corner of southern Kosovo, a platoon of American soldiers in June 1999 found itself policing one of Europe's most troubled regions.

Backed by two high-powered Black Hawk helicopters, the Americans were responsible for dismantling a makeshift roadblock near a bridge set up by the Kosovo Liberation Army. The platoon leader asked the Albanians manning the checkpoint to turn over their weapons. They did not understand. He tried hand gestures and raising his voice. The Albanians only shook their heads. Finally, he ordered his troops to search a small hut at the end of the bridge. There, they found three AK-47 rifles hidden under a chair. After another flurry of hand gestures, the platoon climbed back aboard one of the waiting helicopters and headed for their next assignment.

For both the Americans and the Albanians, the encounter must have seemed like an odd exchange. Only days before, the United States had concluded an eleven-week bombing campaign intended to protect the Albanians of Kosovo. The air war had forced the government of Yugoslavia to agree to withdraw its army from Kosovo — itself a province of Yugoslavia. As they left, forces from the United States and its European allies moved in to maintain order. A few of the more than 1 million Kosovo refugees who had been driven from their homes by the Yugoslav army and police were already trickling back into the province.

Americans have been understandably torn by the U.S. position in Kosovo. The American public was genuinely moved by the suffering of the refugees from Kosovo. A majority supported military action to stop the injustice. At the same time, most Americans were reluctant to enter a conflict with deep and blood-soaked roots. Fewer still saw Kosovo as an area of vital U.S. interests.

How did the end of the Cold War change international relations?

The issues raised by Kosovo touch directly on our country's role in the world. During the four decades of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, the purpose of U.S. foreign policy seemed clear. Our country's goal was to oppose the spread of communism — with force when necessary. The struggle against communist expansion drew the United States into the Korean War and the Vietnam War. U.S. leaders formed defense alliances with more than fifty countries to counter Soviet moves abroad.

When the Cold War died out in the late 1980s, the international system that had prevailed since World War II went with it. Without the two hostile superpowers squaring off in the international arena, new possibilities arose for international compromise and cooperation. For the first time since World War II, the United Nations (UN) was not paralyzed by division. After the late 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union (later Russia) worked together through the UN to resolve conflicts in areas where they had once shipped weapons to opposing forces.

Why have small-scale conflicts gained prominence since the end of the Cold War?

At the same time, new conflicts — most often within states rather than between states — surfaced in the wake of the Cold War. Ethnic conflicts on the fringes of the former Soviet Union and in the former Yugoslavia that had been smothered by the heavy hand of the communist system reignited.

Other areas, especially where borders had been drawn by the imperial powers of Europe in past centuries, emerged as powder kegs of conflict. As the threat of nuclear war between the superpowers faded, small-scale civil wars and smoldering territorial disputes captured international attention.

What is the role of the UN in peacekeeping?

Increasingly, the UN was given the responsibility for maintaining peace. In 1987, the UN was directing five peacekeeping operations with 10,000 soldiers and an annual budget of $233 million. By 1994, the UN's peacekeeping role had expanded to include seventeen operations involving 73,000 soldiers at a cost of $3.6 billion a year. The two biggest operations — in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia — were each supported by more than 25,000 troops.

The UN itself does not have an army. Rather, the organization must rely on member countries to provide troops and financial support. No country is more important to UN peacekeeping efforts than the United States. The United States is capable of contributing highly trained soldiers with the latest weaponry to UN operations. Furthermore, Americans are responsible for 30 percent of the bill for UN peacekeeping.

Our country's relationship with the UN and our role in resolving the world's many conflicts have emerged as critical foreign policy issues. In recent years, the United States has increasingly turned to the UN as a vehicle for addressing international problems, especially in the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Haiti, and other trouble spots. At the same time, critics of the international organization have expressed concern that the UN's growing influence threatens to entangle the United States in an endless series of distant conflicts.

> *CNN is not a compass for American interests. We cannot act on the urge, rooted as it is in good intentions, to respond to every crisis.*
>
> *—Anthony Lake, former national security adviser*

What will you learn in this unit?

In this unit, you will take part in the national debate on the U.S. role in international intervention. Keep the following questions in mind as the unit unfolds:

- When, if ever, should the United States commit troops to advance the cause of peace?
- How do we balance our concern for human rights against the notion that states should be left alone to manage their own affairs?
- How can we use our diplomatic and economic influence to avoid the use of force?
- Should our country's policy toward intervening abroad be governed by a broad strategy, or should each case be weighed separately?
- Finally, should U.S. policies be in step with the decisions of the UN, or should we chart our own course?

The background reading has been designed to help you consider these and other questions. Part I reviews the growth and development of international organizations in the modern age and explains several key concepts. Part II examines four case studies of conflict that were played out against the backdrop of the Cold War. Part III explores five current conflicts of particular relevance to the United States.

Part I: The International Community's Changing Role

The concept of an international community — or a community of nations — owes its beginnings to the emergence of nation-states in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. England, France, and Spain were among the first states to unite a single nationality within their borders. In the late 1400s and 1500s, the early nation-states took the lead in exploring the Americas and mapping out new trade routes to Asia and Africa. As these nation-states grew in wealth and power, the unifying authority of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe weakened. Rather than thinking of themselves as belonging to Christendom, European leaders increasingly sought to promote the interests of their own nation-states.

How has war spurred change in the international system?

The formation of nation-states prompted the rulers of Britain, France, Spain, and other countries to turn their attention to the problems of international relations. The greatest progress came as a result of war. The Thirty Years War of 1618-1648 was a critical turning point. The Thirty Years War was actually a series of conflicts that were mostly fought in what is now Germany. Divisions between Catholics and Protestants sparked the war and attracted armies from throughout Europe. The continent had never seen such devastation. Millions died from starvation as marauding armies laid waste to much of central Europe.

What prompted America's first overseas interventions?

Spain's harsh attempts to crush an independence movement on the island of Cuba, a Spanish colony at the time, led Americans to recall their own country's struggle for independence against the British empire. In addition, the growing emphasis on naval power and the expansion of American trade overseas elevated the importance of Cuba and the entire Caribbean region in the eyes of U.S. policymakers. With public opinion behind the war effort, the United States swiftly defeated Spain and gained control of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

In the early decades of the 20th century, the United States repeatedly intervened in the affairs of its neighbors in the Caribbean, Central America, and Mexico. In many countries, especially in Cuba, Haiti, and Nicaragua, American troops maintained almost a constant presence into the 1930s. While preserving order, the United States trained armies and police forces, built roads, and improved health care. U.S. policies in the region were driven primarily by a desire to ensure political stability and protect American business interests. At the same time, Americans hoped to transplant their democratic institutions and free-market economic system to the region.

How did anti-communism shape U.S. policy toward international conflicts?

During the Cold War, the strategy of containing Soviet communism guided U.S. involvement abroad. American leaders feared that the Soviets would fan the flames of conflict to gain influence in regions that were identified as vital to U.S. interests. Our country's most costly Cold War involvement — the Vietnam War — began as an effort to support the anti-communist South Vietnamese government's campaign to stop conflict in its country. In other areas of conflict, from southern Africa to Central America, the goals of the Cold War likewise shaped U.S. policy. The American relationship with the UN was molded by the same forces. With the UN Security Council deadlocked by the Cold War, the United States often acted independently of the UN in addressing the world's conflicts.

Now that the Cold War is over, the foreign policy strategy that guided the United States for forty years has been put aside. In an age of unique challenges and opportunities, Americans are today being asked to define a new set of values and interests for determining our country's involvement abroad.

Defining Terms

To appreciate the choices and trade-offs our country faces in the area of international intervention, we first need to understand the concepts that have shaped the debate. The five terms below are a vital part of that discussion. As you will see, the meaning of each term has been recast by the events of recent years.

How has the notion of state sovereignty evolved?

Sovereignty means freedom from external control. Traditionally, governments — whether they be headed by democratically elected officials or self-imposed dictators — have strongly defended the principle of sovereignty. Sovereignty has served as the foundation of international organizations. Governments have supported the UN, the League of Nations, and earlier international efforts based on the assumption that their sovereignty would be protected. In practical terms, sovereignty has never been absolute. Strong countries have always influenced the policies of weaker countries. The United States, for example, has long had a hand in shaping the foreign policies and economic development of Latin American nations.

In recent decades, sovereign states have faced pressure from two levels. From above, the principle of sovereignty has been eroded by forces and institutions that extend beyond national boundaries. The growth of world trade, multinational corporations, and even international environmental organizations has forced governments to accept limits on their sovereignty. Brazil, for example, has taken steps to improve conditions for Indians in the Amazon region and to curb the destruction of the rainforest in part because of worldwide concern. Meanwhile, state sovereignty has increasingly been challenged from below by minority groups and regional interests. In Russia, for example, the central government has signed agreements with regional leaders to broaden local control over economic affairs.

How has territorial integrity fueled tensions?

Territorial integrity means that national borders should not be forcibly changed. Like state sovereignty, the notion of territorial integrity has been a mainstay of the international system since World War II. The framers of the UN Charter believed that territorial disputes had been a root cause of past wars. They felt that the territorial changes imposed by the peace settlements of World War I had fueled aggressive nationalism, giving rise to Adolf Hitler and another world war. Consequently, world leaders since 1945 have upheld the principle of territorial integrity as a means of maintaining peace and stability. During the Cold War, the only significant border change came when Bangladesh broke away from Pakistan in 1971.

While statesmen contend that support for territorial integrity has prevented the breakup of states and discouraged aggression, there is another side to the argument. The principle of territorial integrity, for example, has left much of Africa and Asia with borders drawn by Britain, France, and other European colonial powers in the 19th century. In many cases, the European officials responsible for the borders did not take into account local economic conditions or ethnic divisions. Africa, in particular, has been torn by conflicts that trace their origins in part to the refusal of African leaders to alter the colonial borders they inherited.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has likewise challenged the notion of territorial integrity. The Soviet Union, for instance, has broken up into fifteen states, while Yugoslavia has given way to five countries. The borders of these new states often reflect the divide-and-rule strategies of communist leaders. Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, the ruler responsible for many of the current borders of the former Soviet Union, was mainly interested in strengthening the power of the central government in the periphery of his vast country. The borders that he helped draw within the Soviet Union often contributed to animosity among ethnic groups.

Two border changes that have occurred since the end of the Cold War — the peaceful division of Czechoslovakia into two states in 1992 and Eritrea's achievement of independence from Ethiopia in 1993 — may be the beginning of a trend.

How does self-determination threaten stability?

Self-determination means the right of a people to govern its own affairs. During the 19th century, the cause of self-determination inspired small nations to challenge the rulers of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman Turkish empires. At the close of World War I, President Wilson declared that self-determination should be a guiding principle in drafting the peace settlements. Self-determination, however, often conflicts with the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Before World War II, for example, the campaign for self-determination by Germans in the Sudetenland of northwestern Czechoslovakia gave Hitler an excuse to demand territory from Czechoslovakia. During the Cold War, U.S. officials championed the self-determination of peoples under Soviet rule.

World leaders have often viewed self-determination struggles as a threat to peace and stability. With literally thousands of ethnic groups in the world, fully honoring the principle of self-determination could lead to the creation of thousands of countries. Moreover, self-determination for one group often results in discrimination against other groups. For these reasons, the international community has usually avoided intervention to stop even the most brutal measures to crush self-determination movements. In the case of Biafra, a region in eastern Nigeria seeking self-determination in the 1960s, little action was taken to halt the Nigerian government's war against civilians that resulted in as many as 1 million deaths. Likewise, Iraq's Saddam Hussein faced few repercussions after killing thousands of Kurds in northern Iraq with poison gas in 1988. Despite the international community's indifference, millions of people worldwide continue to struggle for self-determination.

Why are minority rights a controversial issue?

Minority rights mean establishing a special set of laws to protect a minority group. Minority rights differ from individual rights in that they typically apply to an ethnic or religious community, not to individual citizens. Minority rights may allow a group to operate its own schools, promote its language and culture through the media, or take responsibility for the functions of local government. In Canada, for example, the

French Canadians of Quebec province and the native peoples of the northern regions have been granted substantial powers of self-government.

In many other parts of the world, however, central governments have refused to concede rights to minority groups. In China, officials have resisted calls to broaden the rights of Tibetans, Uigurs, and other minority groups. Chinese authorities fear that expanding minority rights may encourage movements to break away from China. Many outside observers, however, believe that granting minority communities local autonomy and group rights is needed to prevent conflict.

How is conflict resolution pursued?

Conflict resolution means the involvement of an outside party to bring peace to an area of conflict. Support for conflict resolution gathered momentum around the turn of the century with the International Peace Conferences at The Hague. President Wilson conceived of the League of Nations as a vehicle for resolving conflicts before they turned violent. During the Cold War, conflict resolution was often thwarted by U.S.-Soviet hostility. Since the late 1980s, the prospects for conflict resolution have improved.

Approaches to conflict resolution generally fall into three broad categories, and are discussed in chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter. The first method involves diplomacy. An outside party, such as the UN, the United States, or Russia, may help arrange negotiations or offer itself as an impartial arbitrator. A peaceful settlement may lead to the introduction of peacekeeping forces by the outside party. The second method involves the use of sanctions intended to pressure an offending party to change its policies. Sanctions typically include economic embargoes, boycotts, and other trade restrictions aimed at crippling a country's military power. A country may also be barred from participation in international events, such as the Olympics. The third method relies on the threat or use of force. In Bosnia, for example, U.S. pilots carried out bombing missions to force Bosnian Serbs to respect the decisions of the UN.

Part II: Four Historical Case Studies

In Part I of the background reading, you learned how the methods and principles of conflict resolution have evolved in the modern age. As you read, the U.S.-Soviet rivalry poisoned the cooperative spirit of the UN Charter and cast a shadow over international conflict resolution for four decades. In the following pages, you will explore a range of international responses to four conflicts that erupted during the Cold War. You will also learn how the aftershocks of each conflict continue to be felt today.

CONGO

Congo was the scene of the UN's most ambitious peacekeeping operation up to the 1990s. From 1960 to 1964, a UN force was present to guide Congo from Belgian colonial rule to independence. The UN was responsible for helping to establish basic governmental institutions for the new state. In the process, it also became entangled in a violent ethnic conflict and Belgium's efforts to preserve its influence in the region.

The Congo operation marked the first time since the Korean War that the UN had authorized the use of force. Although the UN fulfilled its original mission, the root causes of Congo's problems were not solved. Moreover, 195 peacekeepers were killed. The international community's experience in Congo gave a bad name to the concepts of "peace enforcement" and "nation-building." The UN did not take on another mission of such scope and complexity until international forces were sent to Somalia in 1992.

How did Belgium colonize Congo?

Contacts between central Africa and Europe began as early as the 1480s, when Portuguese traders began to establish links with the Congo kingdom. The region, however, did not come under European domination until the late 1800s. At the time, the European competition for colonies in Africa drew the attention of King Leopold II of Belgium to Congo. In 1884, the huge territory was recognized as the king's personal property. The Belgian colonial system was particularly ruthless. The local population, known as the Congolese, were forced to work as virtual slaves to exploit their homeland's rubber, ivory, and other natural resources.

Why did the Congolese independence movement lead to violence?

While other European empires gradually came apart after World War II, Belgium resisted proposals for Congo's independence. Educated Congolese themselves seized the initiative in the 1950s, forming political and self-help groups in Congo's major cities. Most of these organizations were based on ethnic lines, thus contributing to divisions among the Congolese.

In 1959, riots broke out in Congo's capital. Belgian authorities were taken largely by surprise. With little support within Belgium to intervene in Congo, Belgian officials hastily opened talks on organizing elections and granting independence. The results of the May 1960 elections illustrated Congo's deepening ethnic and political divisions. The victorious party, headed by Patrice Lumumba, favored cutting the country's ties with Belgium and the Western corporations that dominated the local economy.

In June 1960, the Belgians officially granted

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How is conflict resolution pursued?

Conflict resolution means the involvement of an outside party to bring peace to an area of conflict. Support for conflict resolution gathered momentum around the turn of the century with the International Peace Conferences at The Hague. President Wilson conceived of the League of Nations as a vehicle for resolving conflicts before they turned violent. During the Cold War, conflict resolution was often thwarted by U.S.-Soviet hostility. Since the late 1980s, the prospects for conflict resolution have improved.

Approaches to conflict resolution generally fall into three broad categories, and are discussed in chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter. The first method involves diplomacy. An outside party, such as the UN, the United States, or Russia, may help arrange negotiations or offer itself as an impartial arbitrator. A peaceful settlement may lead to the introduction of peacekeeping forces by the outside party. The second method involves the use of sanctions intended to pressure an offending party to change its policies. Sanctions typically include economic embargoes, boycotts, and other trade restrictions aimed at crippling a country's military power. A country may also be barred from participation in international events, such as the Olympics. The third method relies on the threat or use of force. In Bosnia, for example, U.S. pilots carried out bombing missions to force Bosnian Serbs to respect the decisions of the UN.

Part II: Four Historical Case Studies

In Part I of the background reading, you learned how the methods and principles of conflict resolution have evolved in the modern age. As you read, the U.S.-Soviet rivalry poisoned the cooperative spirit of the UN Charter and cast a shadow over international conflict resolution for four decades. In the following pages, you will explore a range of international responses to four conflicts that erupted during the Cold War. You will also learn how the aftershocks of each conflict continue to be felt today.

Congo

Congo was the scene of the UN's most ambitious peacekeeping operation up to the 1990s. From 1960 to 1964, a UN force was present to guide Congo from Belgian colonial rule to independence. The UN was responsible for helping to establish basic governmental institutions for the new state. In the process, it also became entangled in a violent ethnic conflict and Belgium's efforts to preserve its influence in the region.

The Congo operation marked the first time since the Korean War that the UN had authorized the use of force. Although the UN fulfilled its original mission, the root causes of Congo's problems were not solved. Moreover, 195 peacekeepers were killed. The international community's experience in Congo gave a bad name to the concepts of "peace enforcement" and "nation-building." The UN did not take on another mission of such scope and complexity until international forces were sent to Somalia in 1992.

How did Belgium colonize Congo?

Contacts between central Africa and Europe began as early as the 1480s, when Portuguese traders began to establish links with the Congo kingdom. The region, however, did not come under European domination until the late 1800s. At the time, the European competition for colonies in Africa drew the attention of King Leopold II of Belgium to Congo. In 1884, the huge territory was recognized as the king's personal property. The Belgian colonial system was particularly ruthless. The local population, known as the Congolese, were forced to work as virtual slaves to exploit their homeland's rubber, ivory, and other natural resources.

Why did the Congolese independence movement lead to violence?

While other European empires gradually came apart after World War II, Belgium resisted proposals for Congo's independence. Educated Congolese themselves seized the initiative in the 1950s, forming political and self-help groups in Congo's major cities. Most of these organizations were based on ethnic lines, thus contributing to divisions among the Congolese.

In 1959, riots broke out in Congo's capital. Belgian authorities were taken largely by surprise. With little support within Belgium to intervene in Congo, Belgian officials hastily opened talks on organizing elections and granting independence. The results of the May 1960 elections illustrated Congo's deepening ethnic and political divisions. The victorious party, headed by Patrice Lumumba, favored cutting the country's ties with Belgium and the Western corporations that dominated the local economy.

In June 1960, the Belgians officially granted

independence to Congo. Within a week, Congolese soldiers mutinied against their Belgian officers. As the army crumbled, Belgians fled the country. Belgium responded by sending in troops. In turn, Lumumba's government called on the UN to intervene and force the Belgians to withdraw. The UN responded quickly to the request, landing its first troops in July 1960. By September, the force included 16,000 soldiers from fourteen nations.

Overseeing the withdrawal of Belgian troops from Congo proved to be relatively easy. Much more serious was the country's fragmentation from within. UN troops were not prepared to cope with a nation that lacked a secure central government. The most damaging blow to Congo's stability came when the mineral-rich province of Katanga seceded a few days before the arrival of UN troops. Katanga's decision was supported by Belgium, which had concentrated its business interests in the province.

How did the Cold War complicate the Congo war?

Lumumba demanded UN action to help him restore the power of the central government. Frustrated by the UN's indecision, Lumumba appealed to the Soviet Union for support. He was soon overthrown and assassinated. New leaders quickly rose to stake a claim to power. With Congo on the verge of complete disintegration, the UN in 1961 helped organize a series of conferences among the country's political factions. A settlement was reached and a new central government formed. Under UN pressure, the secessionist government in Katanga province came to terms in 1963.

In a narrow sense, the UN had accomplished its goals. The Belgian troops and foreign mercenaries had been forced to leave Congo, and the country had been kept from splintering. The withdrawal of UN forces in 1964, however, opened the door to a much broader civil war.

Without a stable central government, Congo was torn by fighting among factional leaders. The Belgians, Americans, Soviets, and Chinese all provided support for their allies. The United States even conducted a parachute operation with the Belgians to rescue 2,000 Europeans and assist the government.

Why did the United States support Mobutu's corrupt regime?

Firm control over Congo was not established until 1965, when General Mobutu Sese Seko seized power in a military coup backed by the United States. Mobutu brought an end to the fighting and renamed his country Zaire. Until the end of the Cold War, the United States provided unwavering support for his regime.

Mobutu's dictatorship gradually sank under the weight of corruption and poor government. In 1996, Mobutu was overthrown by Laurent Kabila, a veteran of the conflict in the early 1960s. (In one of his first acts, Kabila renamed the country "Congo.") Kabila promised a new era of democracy and prosperity. In fact, his regime reopened many of the wounds from Congo's independence movement.

Why is Congo again torn by civil war?

Kabila failed to unify Congo's many ethnic groups behind his leadership. Many of the rebels who had backed Kabila's rise to power soon turned against him. Congo's neighbors were also drawn into the conflict. Rwanda and Uganda, which share ethnic ties with many of the rebels that brought down Mobutu, sent their own troops into Congo in 1998 to support Kabila's opponents. Their involvement prompted Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, and Chad to intervene on the side of Kabila.

By 1999, Congo was once again weak, divided, and dominated by foreign powers. Rebels held one-third of the country's territory in the north and west, while Kabila's government claimed the remainder. Meanwhile, a new round of international conferences was underway to address Congo's problems.

Cyprus

Since 1963, UN peacekeepers have been stationed on the eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus. Beginning in 1974, the UN force has monitored a dividing line that cuts the island in two from east to west and splits Cyprus' two main ethnic groups, the Greeks and the Turks. The UN presence has not helped resolve the conflict between the Greeks and the Turks.

Rather, the conflict that first boiled over into widespread violence in the early 1960s has been frozen in place with no thaw in sight.

How did nationalism fuel tension in Cyprus?

Cyprus' more than 700,000 people live on an island smaller than the state of Connecticut. The Greeks, who form 78 percent of the population, control 63 percent of Cyprus' territory. The remaining 37 percent of the island is held by the Turkish community, which accounts for 19 percent of Cyprus' people. Historically, Cyprus has been a Greek island. In the 16th century, however, the island fell under the rule of the Ottoman Turkish empire. In 1878, the British established control over Cyprus to serve the interests of their own empire.

Tensions in Cyprus began to rise after World War II, at a time when British leaders were being forced to let go of their vast empire. Weakened by the enormous costs of World War II, the British almost completely dismantled their empire from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. At its height in the 19th century, Britain had claimed land on six continents.

As in other areas of the empire, Britain's presence in Cyprus after World War II was challenged by rising nationalism. Increasingly, Greek Cypriots came under the influence of a nationalist movement that called for a union between Cyprus and Greece.

Beginning in 1955, they revolted against British rule. Britain in turn began preparing Cyprus for independence, involving Greek and Turkish leaders in the negotiations. The constitution the British helped draft divided political power between the Greek and Turkish communities, and guaranteed the rights of the Turkish minority. In 1960, Cyprus was granted independence.

Despite the careful attention to Greek-Turkish relations in the constitution, tension between the two communities began to grow soon after the departure of British forces. The Turks argued for strict territorial divisions to protect their autonomy, while the Greeks favored a political system that would allow them to take advantage of their superiority in numbers. Serious violence erupted in 1963, leading the UN to send a small peacekeeping force to the island to prevent further conflict.

How did the involvement of Greece and Turkey deepen Cyprus' divisions?

Meanwhile, developments in Turkey and Greece added to the atmosphere of hostility. Soon after violence broke out in Cyprus, Turkey's leaders threatened to invade the island, asserting that Turkey had the right to defend Turkish Cypriots. In Greece, a military dictatorship came to power in 1967 and pushed for the unification of Cyprus and Greece. The year 1974 proved decisive for Cyprus. In July, the Cypriot National Guard, led by officers from the Greek army, seized control of the Cypriot government. Five days later, Turkey invaded the island. Rolling past UN peacekeepers, the Turkish army occupied 40 percent of Cyprus within a month. Greece mobilized its forces but did not intervene to stop the Turks.

The Turkish invasion resulted in a clear division of Cyprus, with Turkish forces occupying the northern part of the island. A sudden shift in population followed the invasion, uprooting Greek and Turkish communities that had once been scattered throughout the island. Roughly 180,000 Greeks and 50,000 Turks abandoned their homes. Although the UN General Assembly called for respect of Cyprus' territorial integrity and the withdrawal of the invading army, Turkey did not comply with the resolution. Instead, the "Green Line" dividing Cyprus gradually took on features of permanence. Few Greeks remained in the Turkish-

controlled area and few Turks were left in the Greek-controlled area. UN peacekeepers took up positions between the two communities. The Greek military officers who staged the coup in Cyprus were replaced by the deposed civilian government. In 1975, Turkish Cypriots voted to form a separate state.

The position of Greece and Turkey in the Cold War rivalry made the Cyprus conflict especially tricky for the United States and its allies. Both countries were members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). With its 500,000-man army, Turkey was particularly vital to NATO's strategy in southeastern Europe. For that reason, NATO countries were reluctant to pressure Turkish Cypriots to give up their self-proclaimed republic. Although the state has been recognized only by Turkey, it has been able to function. Meanwhile, a UN force of about 1,000 soldiers succeeded in maintaining peace on the island with few incidents.

Why has little progress been made in resolving the Cyprus conflict?

Little has changed since the end of the Cold War. The Green Line still slices the island in two and UN peacekeepers remain in place. Greece and Turkey continue their war of words over the conflict, despite their membership in NATO. The positions of the two sides on the island have also hardened. The Greek Cypriots, who make up about three-quarters of the population and control 63 percent of the island's territory, want to unify Cyprus and provide autonomy for Turkish Cypriots. In contrast, Turkish Cypriots favor the creation of a federation consisting of two equal states.

At the same time, the economic gap separating the two communities has widened. Greek Cypriots have attained a standard of living comparable to that of Greece while Turkish Cyprus has been unable to escape poverty. With the Greek Cypriots maintaining an economic blockade against their Turkish neighbors, there is almost no trade or other contact between the two communities. International officials fear that as the economic and social differences across the Green Line deepen, bringing true peace to the island will prove more difficult.

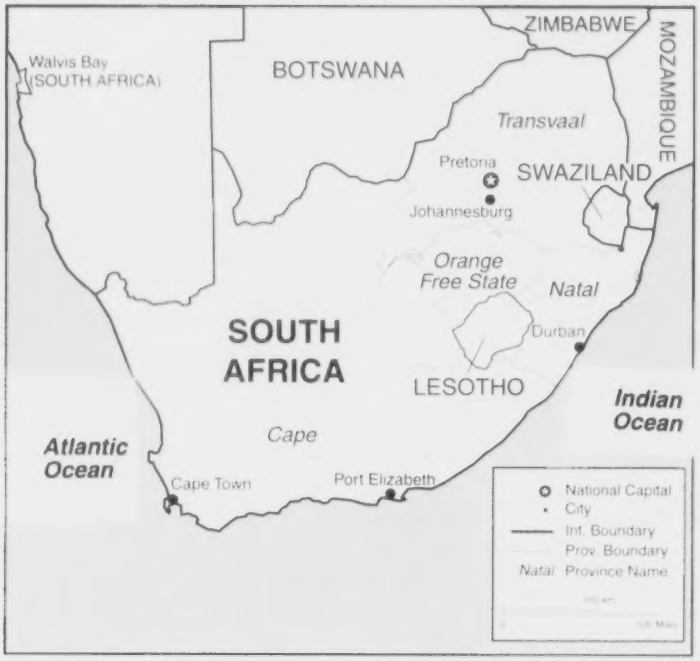
South Africa

The end of the South African system of *apartheid* — or official racial discrimination — can be counted as a success for the international community. Led by African countries, the UN directed a string of strongly critical resolutions against South African *apartheid* beginning in the 1960s and imposed economic and diplomatic sanctions on the country's white-controlled government. Without resorting to force, UN efforts eventually resulted in positive change. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, South Africa's leadership was forced to gradually dismantle the *apartheid* system. The anti-*apartheid* campaign culminated in 1994, when South Africans of all races voted for the first time in nationwide elections and elected Nelson Mandela president.

How did Europeans dominate South Africa?

Apartheid means "apartness" in the language of the white Afrikaners. The Afrikaners, most of whom trace their origins to the Netherlands, form a majority of South Africa's European population. (Only 13 percent of South Africa's 43 million people are of European descent.) The Afrikaners began settling in what is today South Africa in the 17th century. In the 19th century, the British established a presence in South Africa. The British were attracted first by the area's strategically located seaports on the Cape of Good Hope, and then by the discovery of diamonds and gold. After winning a war against the Afrikaners (also known as Boers), Britain created the Union of South Africa in 1910.

The conflict between the Afrikaners and the British in South Africa was insignificant compared to the clash between white European civilization and black African civilization. Although African tribes, particularly the Zulus, courageously resisted the advancing British and Afrikaners, they were no match for the modern weapons of the Europeans. By the time the Union of South Africa was formed, an unofficial *apartheid* system was already in place. Whites ran the government, held the best farmland, and controlled the leading businesses, while blacks provided labor for white-owned enterprises, particularly the country's rich gold and diamond mines, or lived off the land not



Although few countries worldwide could claim a solid record in promoting democratic values and human rights, South Africa and its neighbor Rhodesia (also ruled by a white minority) were alone in openly defending racism. The progress of the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s added to South Africa's isolation.

South Africa's confrontation with the international community began in earnest in 1960, after South African police killed seventy black protesters in the Sharpeville township. In response to the massacre, the UN Secretary Council issued a resolution condemning *apartheid*. In 1963, the Security Council recommended a ban on arms sales to South Africa. Other resolutions followed in the coming years. In 1973, South Africa was denied a seat in the UN General Assembly.

claimed by whites. In addition, the British brought in Indians from their empire in South Asia to staff the lower levels of the government.

Why did the international community turn against South Africa?

In Britain, public opposition to racial discrimination grew after World War I. With the disintegration of the British empire after World War II, Britain withdrew from its African colonies. The position of South Africa seemed increasingly at odds with international attitudes toward racial discrimination. White South Africans, however, were not prepared to give up their privileged status. In 1948, they resisted change by voting for the National Party. The National Party government set *apartheid* firmly into South Africa's legal system. Blacks were officially restricted to certain occupations and paid much lower wages than whites for the same work. Only whites were permitted to vote or run for public office. Furthermore, many blacks were forced to give up their land and migrate to remote "homelands" created by the government. In 1961, South Africa proclaimed its full independence from Britain.

The National Party's *apartheid* policies left South Africa an outcast in the international community.

How did economic sanctions contribute to democratic reform?

South Africa's huge reserves of gold, diamonds, and other minerals gave the country a strategic position in the Cold War. But after the mid-1970s, even the United States and other Western countries that had opposed harshly punishing South Africa took a stronger stand against *apartheid*. Most worrisome for South Africa's government was the mounting pressure to impose trade sanctions against the country. In the West, support for trade sanctions was spurred by private groups. By the late 1980s, the sanctions movement had resulted in a substantial drop in U.S.-South African trade and had prompted many American companies to cut their investment ties to South Africa.

South Africa was pushed up against a wall. Despite the country's mineral wealth, the economy was sagging. Meanwhile, anti-*apartheid* protests were spreading in defiance of a government crackdown. In 1989, South Africa's president resigned in favor of Frederik de Klerk. As pressure for change intensified, de Klerk released African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in 1990. The following year, he pledged to dismantle the *apartheid* system and began negotiations to draft a new constitution for South Africa. In 1994,

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Mandela won the presidency in the first national elections open to all of South Africa's people.

What challenges confront South Africa today?

Mandela provided his country wise and balanced leadership as it entered a new era. He gained the respect of many white officials and business executives. Mandela also reached out to leaders of other ethnic groups, particularly the Zulus. His policies helped reduce the political violence that had resulted in thousands of deaths within the black community.

Even Mandela, however, could not quickly overcome South Africa's many deeply rooted problems. Blacks have made only meager inroads into the economic mainstream since the end of apartheid. As much as 40 percent of South Africa's labor force is unemployed. Poverty, along with the availability of weapons, has contributed to one of the highest crime rates in the world. By the time Mandela prepared to leave the presidency in 1999, South Africans of all backgrounds worried that their country continued to be threatened by racial and ethnic divisions.

EAST TIMOR

The case of East Timor illustrates the inconsistency of the international system. Beginning in 1975, the East Timorese fell victim to an invasion by Indonesia. As many as 200,000 people died at the hands of the Indonesian army. Although the UN Security Council officially called for the invading troops to withdraw, in fact the United States and its leading allies did not take a firm stance to halt the slaughter in East Timor.

Why did the international community involve itself in Congo, Cyprus, and South Africa, while ignoring the plight of East Timor? Several factors account for East Timor's fate. In the international arena of the mid-1970s, East Timor's suffering was outweighed by the importance of the Indonesian government. Indonesia's President Suharto ruled over a collection of 17,000 islands in Southeast Asia. The country was rich in oil, gas, and other natural resources, and was seen as a key American ally in the struggle against communism. Trade ties between Indonesia and the West were growing, especially as Suharto sought to build up his military. Meanwhile, the fewer than 700,000 people of East Timor — half of a remote island located 300 miles north of Australia — attracted little outside interest.

Why did East Timor's struggle for independence lead to conflict?

The story of the conflict in East Timor has its origins in the region's colonial past. For more than 400 years, East Timor was controlled by Portugal. Meanwhile, the western half of the island, along with the other islands that today make up Indonesia, were under Dutch rule. The Indonesians gained independence from the Netherlands in 1949 and for the next sixteen years grappled with mounting political instability. The turmoil erupted into civil war in 1965. As head of the Indonesian army, Suharto led the military to victory over Soviet-backed rebels. At least 300,000 rebels were killed in Suharto's effort to crush opposition to his regime.

East Timor was shielded from the violence in Indonesia. In 1974, however, Portuguese colonial rule over East Timor suddenly ended after Portugal's

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dictatorial government fell from power. The East Timorese hoped that the collapse of the Portuguese empire would allow them to achieve independence. Suharto, though, had other plans for East Timor. In December 1975, he ordered his army to invade the island. At the time, only one foreign journalist was present in East Timor, and he too was killed shortly after the invasion. Human rights groups later gathered evidence to show that the Indonesian forces massacred thousands of unarmed civilians. In the months and years that followed, entire villages were destroyed in air attacks. Farmers were herded into military camps, where they often died of starvation and disease. In addition, the teaching of the Timorese language was banned and Indonesians were brought in to repopulate the island.

What was U.S. policy toward the East Timor crisis?

In his campaign to absorb East Timor into Indonesia, Suharto encountered only mild opposition from the international community. Two days before Indonesia's invasion, President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State of Henry Kissinger visited Indonesia to meet their anti-communist ally, Suharto. The meeting was viewed as a sign of U.S. support for the Suharto regime. When the UN General Assembly passed a resolution a few days later condemning the invasion, the United States, Britain, Germany, France, and Australia abstained from the voting, while Japan opposed the resolution. A UN Security Council resolution calling on "all states to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor" was later accepted by the Western countries.

With the international community largely silent, Suharto ignored the UN resolutions and tightened Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The East Timorese, however, did not give up their struggle. Even as foreign investment fueled Indonesia's rapid economic growth in the early 1990s, they continued to campaign for independence, both in the diplomatic arena and on the ground against the Indonesian army.

Why has the East Timor question re-emerged?

In 1998, a severe economic downturn forced Suharto to resign and suddenly opened up new opportunities for the East Timorese. Suharto's successor, B.J. Habibie promised to transform Indonesia into a democracy. As part of his reform program, he declared his support for a plan to allow the East Timorese to decide their political future. With Habibie's consent, the UN is scheduled to hold a referendum in the province in August 1999.

Habibie's pledge was welcomed by East Timorese nationalists, but it also raised many serious doubts. Within East Timor, a substantial minority opposes independence. Armed groups representing both sides of the independence question have staged attacks. Indonesia's military has frequently turned its weapons against the independence movement. Finances present another problem. Funding from Indonesia's central government accounts for roughly half of East Timor's backward economy.

Indonesian officials are also concerned about the repercussions of an independent East Timor. They fear that other parts of their island nation may seek to follow East Timor's example. At the same time, many are uneasy that East Timor has once again become an international issue.

Part III: Five Current Case Studies

Since the Cold War ended in 1989, the U.S. military has been involved in more than thirty significant missions overseas — three times as many as during the Cold War era. American diplomats are busier too. Few crises arise in the international arena without drawing in the United States.

At the same time, our country as a whole has turned away from international affairs. U.S. spending on our armed forces, diplomatic corps, and foreign aid has declined sharply in the past decade. Both America's political leaders and the general public pay less attention to foreign policy.

The contradiction is rooted in the changes that have transformed the international arena since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Even as American interest in the outside world has slipped, our country's leadership role has grown. The United States is now the world's only superpower. No other country comes close to rivalling America's combination of military and economic might. The United States has the clout to assert its presence in virtually every corner of the globe. Yet, America's sweeping power has spawned a fresh set of obligations and expectations.

Two events in the early 1990s have framed America's perspective on our new role in the world — the Persian Gulf War against Iraq and a peacekeeping operation in Somalia.

Why did the Persian Gulf War boost the confidence of the international community?

At the time Iraq invaded the oil-rich kingdom of Kuwait in 1990, the optimism that accompanied the end of the Cold War was still strong. The prevailing mood enabled the United States to rally the international community against Iraq's Saddam Hussein. The UN Security Council imposed an economic blockade against Iraq and later authorized the use of force to drive Saddam's army Iraq out of Kuwait. President George Bush put together a military coalition of twenty-eight nations under the UN banner. Within a few short weeks in early 1991, the international force overwhelmed Iraq.

The outcome of the Persian Gulf War seemed to suggest that a new age in international relations was at hand. For the first time in UN history, the world's leading powers had stood together to oppose an act of international aggression. Moreover, the war gave the international community confidence to address other areas of conflict.

Why did intervention in Somalia raise doubts?

The second key event of the early 1990s, however, showed that the lessons of the Persian Gulf War did not extend very far. Less than two years after defeating Saddam Hussein, President George Bush sent 25,000 American troops to Somalia at the urging of the UN to safeguard international relief efforts. Instead of establishing a successful model for outside intervention, the Somalia operation turned many Americans against involvement overseas.

The American public was particularly outraged by a clash in October 1993 between U.S. forces and a Somali militia that left eighteen Americans and 300 Somalis dead. By the time the last American troops withdrew from the East African country in March 1994, Somalia was slipping toward chaos. The final remnants of the UN force were evacuated from the country in 1995, leaving behind a nation without an effective central government.

Foreign policy analysts warn that the obligations and expectations of the post-Cold War era will continue to shadow the United States. Moreover, they predict that the international challenges likely to confront the United States in the future will more often resemble Somalia than Iraq. That means that American troops will increasingly be called on to act more like policemen than soldiers, and that U.S. leaders will face a growing list of requests from the international community for foreign aid and diplomatic intervention. As a nation, we can expect more difficult choices ahead about when and where to commit U.S. resources.

In the following pages, you will examine five current conflicts in which the United States is either playing a role or is considering involvement. As you will see, these conflicts bring the questions surrounding our country's role in the world into sharper focus.

The Balkan Peninsula

The Balkan peninsula has been viewed as Europe's powderkeg for over a century. Geography and history have combined to create a complex and often explosive mix of ethnic groups in the region.

Mountains and rivers have contributed to the fragmentation of the Balkans, cultivating a sense of pride and self-reliance among the local people. At the same time, the region's strategic location in southeastern Europe has made it a coveted prize for more powerful states.

The great European and Middle Eastern empires all made their presence felt in the Balkans, leaving behind a tangle of contrasting religions and cultures. As the empires crumbled in the 19th and early 20th centuries, local national movements asserted competing claims to Balkan lands. Today, virtually every Balkan country contains the ingredients for conflict. In the past decade, however, large-scale violence has erupted only in the countries that were once part of Yugoslavia. At the moment, Bosnia and Kosovo present the greatest challenge to peace in the region.

Bosnia

Since 1995, thousands of American troops have been serving in Bosnia (or Bosnia and Herzegovina) as peacekeepers. They are part of an international operation that is dedicated to creating a peaceful democracy in a country that has hardly begun recovering from three and one-half years of warfare.

More than any other conflict area, Bosnia has become a test case for U.S. policy. It was the United States that took the lead in bringing peace to Bosnia. And, to a large degree, it is the United States that stands behind the international commitment to maintain Bosnia's borders and to compel the young state's three main ethnic groups to share the responsibilities of government. When U.S. peacekeepers first entered Bosnia, President Bill Clinton pledged that they would stay no longer than a year. By 1999, he conceded that accomplishing his goals in Bosnia may require many years, even decades, of international involvement. What the president initially viewed as "clear, limited and achievable" has instead been overtaken by the stubborn complexities of the Balkans.

Bosnia's tragedy grew out of the disintegration of communist Yugoslavia. Until 1992, Bosnia formed Yugoslavia's most ethnically mixed republic, where Bosnian Muslim, Serb, and Croat communities lived side by side in mountain villages. In Bosnia's capital of Sarajevo, the site of the 1984 Winter Olympics, the three groups shared one of Europe's most culturally diverse cities. Many Yugoslavs believed that the ethnic wounds of the past had been healed.

What were the origins of Yugoslavia?

Yugoslavia, which means the land of the South Slavs, was formed by the international statesmen who redrew the map of Europe after World War I. At the time, the peoples of Yugoslavia had never been united by a single national identity. During the 1920s and 1930s, Yugoslav politics was marked by a tug of war between the Eastern Orthodox Serbs and the Roman Catholic Croats. Little progress was made toward forging a national Yugoslav identity. Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II opened a period of terrible bloodshed. More than 1 million people died in the country during the war, many of them at the hands of their fellow Yugoslavs. Tens of thousands of Serbs, in particular, fell victim to wartime massacres. By 1945, the defeat of the Nazis and a cruel civil war had brought communist leader Marshal Tito to power.

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Why did Yugoslavia unravel after Tito's death?

Tito's iron-fisted rule and popularity as a wartime hero held Yugoslavia together during the Cold War. Under Tito, an intricate federal system distributed political power among Yugoslavia's ethnic groups. Tito, however, could not erase the hatred and anger that had taken root during World War II.

After Tito's death in 1980, the country's power-sharing arrangement soon fell apart. Political and economic crisis quickly followed. Yugoslavia's difficulties were exploited by hard-line nationalist politicians. In the republic of Serbia, for example, Slobodan Milosevic rose to power in the late 1980s by rekindling Serbian nationalism. Milosevic's moves to assert Serbia's dominance in turn fed nationalism in Yugoslavia's other republics. In 1991 and 1992, Yugoslavia's federal system came apart, with the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia declaring independence. Fighting erupted in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 before spilling over into Bosnia in early 1992. (Only two republics — Serbia and Montenegro — remained part of Yugoslavia.)

Why was the war in Bosnia particularly bloody?

While Bosnia's Muslims and Croats supported the creation of an independent state, local Serbs feared they would be subject to persecution. Once fighting broke out, the toll of the Bosnian war quickly surpassed that of the conflicts in Slovenia and Croatia. Although all sides were guilty of atrocities, Bosnian Serb forces were responsible for most of the brutality against civilians. The Serbs sought to expel Muslims and Croats from areas under their control. The process of "ethnic cleansing" was carried out through torture, gang rape, concentration camps, and massacre. By 1993, Bosnian Serb forces controlled 70 percent of Bosnia's territory.

Western European officials asserted that the stability of the continent was at stake in Bosnia. They feared that the triumph of aggressive nationalism would mark a return to the hostility that prevailed in Europe during the first half of the 20th century. Their concern prompted the UN in 1992 to send a peacekeeping force to Bosnia, prohibit Serbian aircraft from flying over the country, and impose economic sanctions on Milosevic's government. However, there was no military commitment to stopping the bloodshed.

Why was a peace agreement concluded in 1995?

In 1995, an alliance between Croatia and Bosnia's Muslims tilted the balance of power on the battlefield against the Serbs. In a few weeks, the Croatian army drove more than 200,000 Serbs out of eastern Croatia, a region in which their people had lived for three centuries. The Croats, along with the Bosnian Muslims, quickly followed up their advance by attacking the Bosnian Serbs in western Bosnia.

Meanwhile, Serbian massacres of Bosnian Muslim villagers and artillery attacks against Sarajevo continued to stir international anger. In response, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched a hard-hitting bombing campaign against the Bosnian Serb army. NATO's air war, spearheaded by U.S. pilots, allowed Bosnian Croat and Muslim fighters to take the initiative on the ground.

By the fall of 1995, a new map of Bosnia had taken shape. The Serb-held portion of the country shrank to 49 percent, while the Muslims extended their control to 29 percent of the territory and the Croats to 22 percent. Moreover, the ethnic cleansing that the international community had tried to prevent was mostly complete. Bosnia consisted of three largely ethnically pure regions, each with its own army. In all, more than 200,000 people had died in the struggle and 2.3 million had lost their homes. In October 1995, a cease-fire was reached. A formal peace agreement was signed in Dayton, Ohio, in December 1995.

Why have many of the Dayton accord's goals not been fulfilled?

The Dayton accord set forth ambitious goals. The agreement was meant not only to end the war, but to build a democratic, multi-ethnic society. More than 30,000 peacekeepers, under NATO leadership, were put in place to enforce the accord. Hundreds of millions of dollars in economic aid were pledged to restore the economy. The United States and its allies hoped that their investment would soon pay off. The events of the past four years, however, have snuffed out prospects for a quick solution.

The most important provisions of the Dayton accord have yet to be realized. The multi-ethnic central government envisioned by the treaty exists largely on paper. Many of the most important functions of the state — including the design of Bosnia's currency and flag — have in fact been carried out by international officials. Likewise, the military is divided along ethnic lines. Bosnian Muslim and Croat soldiers take part in an international program, led by the United States, to train and equip a Bosnian army, but continue to maintain separate forces. The Serbs have refused to participate at all.

Despite the presence of NATO peacekeepers, only a small percentage of the war's refugees have returned to their homes. In addition, most of the officials and soldiers guilty of war crimes have not been brought to justice.

> *They [Bosnian Serbs] shout "Vietnam! Somalia!" We try not to take it personally.*
> —*Capt. Mitchell Rambin, U.S. peacekeeper*

The Bosnian Muslims alone support creating a united Bosnia. In contrast, the Bosnian Serbs hope to join their lands to Yugoslavia. They have linked their economy to Yugoslavia, conducting transactions with Yugoslav currency and routing international telephone calls through Belgrade, the Yugoslav capital. Similarly, Bosnian Croats have largely turned their backs on the institutions of the Bosnian state. Thousands have left for Croatia. Politically, voters from all three ethnic groups have consistently supported candidates with nationalistic views. Economically, Bosnia has made little progress. More than half its workers are unemployed and foreign aid accounts for roughly one-third of the country's economic output.

Why has the United States remained committed to the Dayton accord?

Despite the setbacks, the United States has remained steadfast in pushing ahead with the Dayton accord. Clinton administration officials now take a long view of Bosnia's future. They hope that the grip of nationalism will eventually weaken in Bosnia and that the country's Muslim, Serb, and Croat politicians will recognize the advantages of cooperation.

U.S. officials also see no rush to bring U.S. troops home from Bosnia. They note that the U.S. peacekeeping force, which numbered 6,900 in 1999, has yet to suffer a combat death. Rather, they view the Bosnian mission as an extension of America's military role in Western Europe, where more than 100,000 U.S. troops have helped keep the peace since the end of World War II. Although the cost of America's involvement in Bosnia has averaged more than $2.5 billion a year since the Dayton accords were signed, President Clinton contends that it is a small price to pay for preventing war in southeastern Europe.

Kosovo

Like Bosnia, Kosovo has come to be seen as another crucial test for America and its NATO allies. In the spring of 1999, the province was at the center of America's largest military engagement since the Persian Gulf War. U.S. and European leaders presented their action as a war against ethnic cleansing.

Militarily, the conflict over Kosovo was a victory for the allies. The challenges in the province, however, have only become more complicated since the war ended. Kosovo has fallen under the wing of the international community. Officially, it remains a part of Yugoslavia. In reality, UN administrators and 50,000 peacekeepers under NATO command, including 7,000 Americans, are in charge of running the province. As in Bosnia, their mission is to create a society in which all ethnic groups will feel secure. The peacekeeping force, in yet another similarity to Bosnia, could very well be in place for many years.

Why is Kosovo the source of conflict?

The conflict over Kosovo is older than Yugoslavia itself. Above all, it revolves around the competing claims of the Serbs and the Albanians to the same piece of land. For the Serbs, Kosovo is the cradle of their culture and the site of many of Serbian history's most significant events. The Albanian claim to Kosovo is based on numbers. For nearly three centuries, Albanians have formed a majority of Kosovo's population.

The Serbs and the Albanians emerged as distinct peoples side by side in the Balkan peninsula. Like most

of their Balkan neighbors, the Serbs trace their origins to Slavic tribes which entered the region more than 1,000 years ago. In contrast, the Albanians view themselves as descendents of the ancient Illyrians.

In 1389, the Ottoman Turks conquered the Serbian kingdom. Although Albanians fought alongside the Serbs against the Ottomans, most Albanians gradually converted to Islam after the Serbian defeat. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the Albanians replaced the Serbs as the largest ethnic group in Kosovo.

The Serbs were among the first peoples in the Balkans to develop a sense of nationalism. In 1830, Serb leaders compelled the Ottoman empire to grant them greater authority and in 1878 they won full independence. At the same time, the national aspirations of the Albanians were coming into focus, especially in Kosovo. By the late 1800s, Albanian nationalists were committed to uniting the areas in which they were a majority into a single self-governing province within the Ottoman empire. The interests of the two national movements collided in Kosovo, which remained under the rule of the Ottoman Turks.

How did the Serbs gain control of Kosovo?

In the First Balkan War of 1912, Serbia joined forces with Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro to push the Ottoman Turks almost completely out of the Balkans. The peace treaty that followed awarded Serbia new territories, including Kosovo. It also recognized an independent Albanian state.

Except for four years during World War II, Kosovo has been part of Serbia since Albania gained independence. The lines on the map, however, have hardly settled the Kosovo problem. The imposition of Serb rule in Kosovo was heavy-handed from the outset. After World War I ended in 1918, Serb leaders sought to tip the ethnic balance in the province by redistributing the estates of Albanian landlords and encouraging Serb farmers to migrate there.

The coming to power of Marshal Tito in 1945 marked a new policy. Tito strove to contain Serbian influence in Yugoslavia. He gave the Kosovo Albanians substantial local autonomy, especially after 1974. The portion of Serbs in the population, which had climbed as high as 38 percent in 1928, gradually dropped.

How did rising nationalism spark tension?

Tito's death in 1980 upset ethnic relations in Kosovo, just as it did in Bosnia. Albanians demanded that Kosovo be upgraded to the status of a full republic — the same level as Serbia — within Yugoslavia. Serbs became the target of intimidation and even violence. Thousands left the province.

Slobodan Milosevic saw the persecution of Kosovo Serbs as a political opportunity. As head of Serbia's Communist Party in 1987, he promised to protect Kosovo Serbs in a widely publicized speech. Milosevic's fiery nationalism boosted his political career and bolstered his authority in Serbia. He led a campaign to downgrade Kosovo's official status and stamp out Albanian nationalism. In 1989, he won the republic's presidency with nearly two-thirds of the vote.

With Yugoslavia crumbling, Milosevic intensified his crackdown in Kosovo. He replaced Albanian officials with Serbs and fired thousands of Albanian government employees, including teachers and professors. Albanians, who made up 90 percent of Kosovo's population, responded by setting up their own schools, health clinics, and other institutions. As the two societies grew apart, Kosovo's backward economy sank deeper into poverty.

Why did the Kosovo dispute turn violent?

A non-violent movement to promote Albanian rights in Kosovo formed in the early 1990s. Milosevic responded by jailing many of the movement's leaders and breaking up peaceful demonstrations with force. Nonetheless, the troubles in the province were largely ignored by the United States and its NATO allies. The 1995 Dayton accord failed to even mention the Kosovo problem.

In 1998, bloodshed put Kosovo in the headlines. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), a poorly equipped guerrilla group, killed two Serb policemen, prompting a fierce response by the Milosevic government. Within days, nearly eighty Albanians, including women and children, were massacred by Serbian security forces.

Jeff MacNelly in the Chicago Tribune. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services.

For the next year, fighting in Kosovo followed a predictable pattern. The KLA staged hit-and-run ambushes and then melted into the countryside. Serb authorities typically struck back by bombarding and burning Albanian settlements. As the conflict intensified, the KLA gained new recruits from within Kosovo and funding from Albanians living outside of Yugoslavia. Although both Serbs and Albanians lived in fear, the province's Albanian civilians suffered the heaviest casualties.

Why did U.S. diplomacy fail in Kosovo?

From the outset of the Kosovo conflict, the United States warned the Milosevic government against pursuing a policy of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Until the spring of 1999, however, U.S. action was confined to imposing economic sanctions against Yugoslavia and pressing for a negotiated settlement.

> *We are not going to stand by and watch the Serbian authorities do in Kosovo what they can no longer get away with doing in Bosnia.*
>
> *—Madeleine Albright, secretary of state*

The most determined diplomatic offensive came in early 1999. Together with its NATO allies and Russia, the United States crafted a peace agreement for Kosovo. Under the treaty, Kosovo would remain part of Yugoslavia but would enjoy wide-ranging powers of self-government. While seeking independence for Kosovo, the Albanians eventually signed the agreement. Milosevic, however, clung to his opposition to foreign troops in Yugoslavia and refused to sign.

How did miscalculation spark a larger war?

President Clinton thought that a show of force would bring Milosevic to terms. In late March 1999, he won the support of all nineteen NATO members to bomb Yugoslavia. The bombing effort, however, soon revealed that both sides had badly miscalculated.

Clinton and the NATO allies assumed that a few days of air strikes would persuade Milosevic to sign the agreement. Instead, Milosevic ordered Yugoslav forces in Kosovo to conduct a brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing. Because the allies initially ruled out sending in ground troops, Kosovo Albanian civilians were all but defenseless against Yugoslav army and police units. By June 1999, at least 10,000 Albanians had been killed and more than 1 million had been uprooted from their homes. The outpouring of refugees threatened the stability of neighboring Macedonia and Albania.

For his part, Milosevic believed that NATO unity would crack as the war dragged on. In fifty years of existence, the alliance had never carried out a full-scale war. Several of its members, especially Greece and Italy, feared that the consequences of the war would touch them directly. Nonetheless, NATO held together through more than 30,000 bombing missions, nearly two-thirds of them carried out by American pilots. They not only inflicted heavy damage against Yugoslavia's military, but destroyed oil refineries, electricity plants, factories, and bridges that formed the country's economic infrastructure. While more than

1,000 Yugoslav civilians were killed in the bombing, NATO did not suffer a single battle death.

How has the war over Kosovo changed international relations?

The peace agreement ending the war in June 1999 was very similar to the one Milosevic had rejected in March. The eleven weeks of bombing, however, had elevated Kosovo from a regional hot spot to a turning point in international relations.

On the diplomatic front, the conflict set a new standard for human rights. Never before had a powerful international coalition gone to war specifically to stop a government from violating the rights of its own citizens. Moreover, the NATO allies launched their attack against Yugoslavia without obtaining the approval of the UN.

The strongest opposition to NATO came from Russia and China. They saw the human rights issue as a ploy for extending U.S. influence. The Chinese were especially angered when a stray American bomb struck their embassy in Yugoslavia, killing three Chinese staff members. As for the Russians, their religious and cultural ties to the Serbs made them particularly sensitive to NATO's policies.

What are the prospects for long-term stability?

In Kosovo itself, diplomatic principles took a back seat to the local devastation. Most Kosovo Albanian refugees who survived the war returned to find their homes and livelihoods destroyed. Western European countries promised to sponsor a large-scale foreign aid program to rebuild the province, but no one expected quick solutions. Thousands of Kosovo Serbs, fearful of Albanian reprisals, left the province altogether as Albanians and NATO moved in.

For at least the next few years, NATO will police Kosovo. The United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy are each responsible for restoring order in specific sectors of the province. More than 3,000 Russian troops are also included in the mission. Meanwhile, the UN oversees Kosovo's reconstruction.

The long term is less certain. Kosovo Albanian leaders insist that they will never again live under Serb rule, yet officially the province remains part of Yugoslavia. Officials in neighboring Macedonia are particularly nervous about the ambitions of Albanian nationalists. Stability in their country, where roughly one-quarter of the people are Albanian, was nearly shattered by the influx of Kosovo Albanian refugees during the war. Another outbreak of ethnic strife in the Balkans could draw in Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.

The Kurds of Northern Iraq

Since the end of the Persian Gulf War in 1991, 3.7 million Kurds in northern Iraq have depended on the international community to protect them from the Iraqi army and to provide relief supplies. The UN operation set a precedent by intervening in a sovereign state for humanitarian purposes, paving the way for similar actions in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. The problems facing the Kurds of northern Iraq, however, have hardly been resolved. Instead, they have been reduced to pawns in the long-running confrontation between the United States and Iraq's Saddam Hussein. The Kurds control an area covering 15,000 square miles (less than half the size of South Carolina). To the south of the Kurdish zone, Iraqi troops have remained poised for attack. Among the Kurds themselves, violent divisions have wrecked their attempts at self-government.

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Why are the Kurds without a state of their own?

The Kurds, an ancient people of the Middle East, live by the adage: "The mountains are our only friends." More than 20 million Kurds are scattered over five countries in the Middle East. The largest group, about 12 million, lives in Turkey, while another 5 million Kurds are based in Iran and 4.5 million in Iraq. The Kurds constitute the largest ethnic group in the Middle East without a state of their own. Although Kurds have often been in conflict with the governments of Turkey and Iran, today the Kurds of northern Iraq face the gravest threats.

The Kurds have been among the losers in the political changes that have swept over the Middle East in the 20th century. Divided into numerous tribes in their mountainous homeland, the Kurds lagged behind their Turkish, Arab, and Persian neighbors in developing a unifying sense of nationalism. The Kurds missed an opportunity to achieve statehood at the end of World War I, when the Allied powers redrew the map of the defeated Ottoman Turkish empire. Although Kurdish nationalists lobbied President Woodrow Wilson and other Western leaders, their interests were ignored in the final peace settlement.

How have Turkey and Iran dealt with the Kurds?

In the new states of the Middle East, the Kurds were often the target of government persecution. In Turkey, for example, officials denied their ethnic identity — referring to them as "mountain Turks" — and sought to stamp out their language and culture. Thousands of Kurds were killed by the Turkish army in the 1920s and 1930s.

During the Cold War, the Kurds served largely as a tool of U.S. and Soviet policy in the Middle East. In the early 1970s, Kurdish guerrillas received American assistance to press their campaign for autonomy against the pro-Soviet regime in Iraq. In 1974, however, U.S. aid was suddenly stopped at the request of the Shah of Iran, an American ally. The Kurds were left virtually defenseless in a prolonged war of extermination conducted by Iraq's Saddam Hussein. As many as 180,000 Kurds were killed in the campaign during the 1970s and 1980s, and roughly 1.5 million were deported to southern Iraq. The most well-known incident of Saddam's brutality took place in 1988, when Iraq's air force dropped poison gas on the town of Halabja. At least 5,000 people were killed in the attack.

Kurdish suffering at the time failed to prompt a forceful international response. President Bush, for example, opposed strong sanctions against Saddam after the Halabja massacre, fearing that Iran might get the upper hand in its eight-year war against Iraq.

Why did the Persian Gulf War spark new hope among Iraqi Kurds?

The Persian Gulf War opened a new chapter in Kurdish history. With the quick defeat of Iraq's army by the U.S.-led coalition in early 1991, the Kurds of northern Iraq saw an opportunity to overthrow Saddam Hussein. Along with Shi'ite Muslims in southern Iraq and other opposition forces, Kurdish guerrillas renewed their rebellion against the Iraqi army. International support for the rebellion, however, evaporated after Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and other Middle Eastern states voiced concern that the disintegration of Iraq would destabilize the region.

With the shift in international attitudes, Saddam Hussein concentrated the remainder of his army on smashing the Kurdish resistance. The Iraqi advance pushed nearly 2 million panicked Kurds across the border into Turkey and Iran. Hundreds died in snowy mountain passes and makeshift refugee camps. In response to the crisis, 20,000 troops from the U.S.-led coalition carved out a security zone for the Kurds near the Turkish border. They also warned that Iraqi warplanes flying north of the 36th parallel would be shot down. In a matter of days, a UN-authorized safe haven had been created, thanks mostly to the strength of U.S. forces.

> *If the Allies give Saddam any breathing space, he will kill us all. Please protect us!*
>
> *—Kurdish victim of Iraqi torture*

What problems face northern Iraq's Kurds?

Since 1991, the Kurds of northern Iraq have been caught in the middle of a tense tug-of-war between the United States and Iraq. U.S. officials weigh the

American position in northern Iraq largely in terms of our country's efforts to contain Saddam Hussein.

American pilots have seen frequent action over the skies of the no-fly zone. After Saddam refused to allow UN weapons inspectors to continue their work in 1998, U.S. bombing strikes on Iraqi military sites intensified.

America's war from the air, however, threatens to disrupt the flow of oil exports that serve as the basis of northern Iraq's economy. Since 1997, the UN has permitted Iraq to sell oil to raise revenue for the purchase of food, medicine, and other non-military goods. Twenty percent of the oil sales are earmarked for northern Iraq, where the UN is responsible for the spending the funds.

The region has benefitted from the construction of new bridges, health clinics, irrigation systems, and other facilities. In addition, the United States has been supplying the Kurds about $130 million worth of humanitarian aid annually. As a result, the standard of living in northern Iraq, while very low, ranks above the level elsewhere in Iraq.

The political unity of the Kurds has also been caught up in the U.S.-Iraqi struggle. Saddam's government has succeeded in sowing division among the Kurds. Fighting between rival Kurdish factions has claimed thousands of lives. One Kurdish group even formed a temporary alliance with Saddam.

In 1998, the United States negotiated a peace settlement between the warring factions. Elections are scheduled for 1999. In the meantime, two separate Kurdish governments administer northern Iraq.

Finally, northern Iraq's relationship with Turkey remains troublesome. Trade across the Turkish border has helped prop up the local economy. Turkey is also the location of the NATO air base from which U.S. pilots enforce the no-fly zone in northern Iraq. At the same time, the Turkish government continues to apply heavy-handed measures to defeat Kurdish rebels in eastern Turkey. On several occasions, tens of thousands of Turkish troops have driven into northern Iraq to flush out Kurdish guerrillas. Kurdish leaders in northern Iraq have complained about the incursions but realize they are in no position to defend their fragile borders.

HAITI

American troops have been in Haiti since 1994. Their presence is a key element in an international mission to restore order and build a democratic society on the Caribbean island. Both Haitians and Americans agree that the United States has helped reduce the violence and brutality that has long plagued Haitian politics. Democracy, however, remains a distant goal for the island.

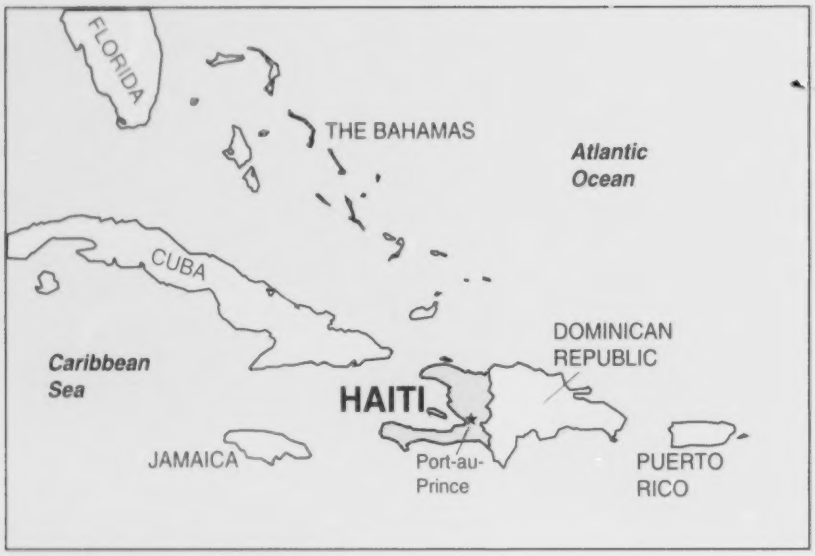
U.S. military involvement in Haiti is nothing new in the history of the Caribbean. Haiti's past bears the marks of political turmoil, poverty, and repeated American intervention. The arrival of American soldiers in 1994 initially raised hopes that the latest episode signalled a turning point. Since then, however, the weight of history has dimmed optimism.

How are Haiti's troubles related to its past?

Haiti's 6.6 million people share the Caribbean island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic. The French began colonizing the island in the 16th century, bringing in African slaves to work their plantations. In 1804, Haiti gained independence from France after slaves organized a successful revolt. Haiti's rulers, however, failed to establish a stable political system on the island. In 1915, U.S. Marines landed in Haiti to establish order and ensure that the island did not fall under German influence. The Marines remained until 1934, leaving behind a country that was administered chiefly by the military.

From 1957 to 1986, Haiti was governed by Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier and his son Jean Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier. The Duvalier dynasty brought a measure of stability to Haiti, but the great majority of Haitians saw little improvement in their lives. Increasingly, Haitian society was divided between a small, educated elite in the well-kept neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, and a huge poverty-stricken class of illiterate farmers and slum dwellers. Duvalier's police force and army maintained the social structure through a combination of brutality, intimidation, and voodoo. Haiti became the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.

The boundless corruption of Baby Doc Duvalier



ultimately triggered his downfall in 1986. After Duvalier fled to France, however, Haiti's troubles continued. A series of military leaders laid claim to power but lacked the strength to establish control over the government. Meanwhile, a grassroots movement for democracy slowly gathered momentum among Haiti's poor.

Why did elections trigger a military coup?

With the support of the international community, Haiti held its first fully democratic election in 1990. The results were a rejection of the old elite. Jean-Bertrand Aristide won 67 percent of the vote in a field of eleven candidates. His promise to reorganize the army and police force, clamp down on corruption, and reform the economy stirred hope among Haiti's poor. Aristide's platform, however, terrified the country's ruling class. In 1991, the old elite orchestrated a military coup that forced Aristide to flee the country.

The international community united against the army officers who deposed Aristide. The Organization of American States, to which thirty-five countries in the Western Hemisphere belong, imposed a regional economic embargo on Haiti.

How did international sanctions affect Haiti?

From 1990 to 1994, Haiti's economy shrunk by nearly one-third. As conditions in Haiti worsened, thousands of Haitians set out across the Caribbean, hoping to reach U.S. territory. Although some were granted refugee status, the majority were returned to Haiti or were turned back at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard. Human rights groups estimate that in 1991-93 the Haitian government killed as many as 3,000 of its citizens and forced 40,000 to flee the country.

In 1994, the UN extended its trade embargo to cover virtually all goods other than food and medicine. The defiance of the coup leaders and the continued exodus of Haitian "boat people" bound for the United States led President Clinton to favor military action. With UN backing, he prepared to launch an invasion force of 20,000 soldiers against Haiti's rulers.

How is America involved in reforming Haiti?

A last-minute agreement in September 1994 allowed U.S. troops to enter Haiti without opposition. The Americans moved quickly to restore order to Haitian society. Thousands of weapons were collected, and a new police force and army were trained. Violence was sharply reduced throughout the island. The outflow of boat people slowed to a trickle.

With the first stage of the international operation completed, the U.S.-led invasion force gave way to a smaller UN peacekeeping unit. By late 1997, UN forces were withdrawn altogether. In their place, the UN put in place a 300-member multinational police force to assist its Haitian counterpart. In addition, the United States has maintained a separate force of 400 troops on the island.

What are the economic and political roadblocks holding back progress?

Calm in Haiti, however, rests on weak underpinnings. The economy has shown few signs of improvement. Outside investment has been meager and about half of the island nation's workers are

unemployed. Hunger continues to stalk the countryside. Seventy percent of the government's budget consists of foreign aid. (The United States is the largest donor, contributing $100 million in economic assistance in 1998.) Plans to privatize state-run industries have sparked protest. Moreover, few of the officials who terrorized Haiti's population before Aristide's return have been brought to justice.

> *We were all hoping that something good was going to happen. But to me, democracy is just a word that the Lavalas [ruling political party] government uses to make money.*
>
> *—Unemployed father of four*

Haiti's economic problems are connected to its political failings. The country's government came to a standstill after the prime minister resigned in 1997 to protest election fraud. Rivalry between President Rene Preval and opposition parties has spilled over into violence. Without a government budget, basic public services have been in shambles. The United States and other wealthy nations have expressed their displeasure with Preval's tactics by withholding economic assistance. Critics in Congress and the U.S. military contend that unrest in Haiti endangers American troops on the island and recommend a withdrawal. Meanwhile, Haiti's role as a transport center in the drug trade has expanded.

In 1999, Preval appointed a new government and announced plans to organize parliamentary elections. The real test of Haiti's commitment to democracy will come in 2000, when presidential elections are scheduled. Thus far, the Clinton administration seems prepared to maintain a U.S. military presence on the island until Haiti shows signs of progress toward achieving a stable democracy.

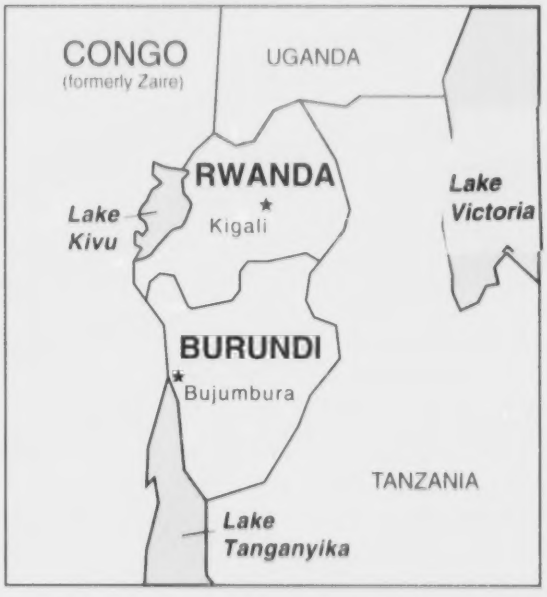
Rwanda and Burundi

In the spring of 1994, a world long accustomed to conflict was shocked by the violence that engulfed the central African country of Rwanda. In the span of a few weeks, at least 500,000 members of the Tutsi minority were slaughtered by their fellow Rwandans. Evidence quickly mounted that Hutu extremists within the government were bent on genocide — the deliberate extermination of a people. Nonetheless, the international community waited months before intervening in Rwanda.

In the years since the Rwandan genocide, diplomats and scholars have debated why the international system failed Rwanda's victims. In 1998 while visiting Rwanda, President Clinton went so far as to concede that his administration shared part of the blame for the events of 1994. At the same time, the United States and its allies have done little to address the deeper causes of one of the world's bloodiest and most explosive conflicts. Progress has been made in preventing a new round of bloodletting between Tutsis and Hutus, but the international community has been largely absent from the process.

What are the origins of the Tutsi-Hutu conflict?

Rwanda and the neighboring state of Burundi have been torn by ethnic strife since gaining independence in 1962. For the moment, the Tutsis dominate both countries. The ethnic balance, however, raises concern that there may be further trouble ahead. In both Rwanda and Burundi, the Hutus make up at least 85 percent of the population, while the Tutsis are less than 15 percent.



The hostility between Hutus and Tutsis, however intense, reaches back only a few decades. The two groups share the same culture, language, and religion. The main differences between them are economic. Although a minority, the Tutsis have long held most of the land in Rwanda and Burundi. For centuries, they were primarily cattle herders while the Hutus were farmers. Under German and then Belgian colonial rule, the economic differences deepened. The Belgians openly favored the Tutsis, reserving educational privileges and government jobs solely for them.

In the late 1950s, the Belgians hastily organized elections in Rwanda and Burundi as their colonial empire in central Africa began to crumble. Hutu parties gained control of the Rwandan government in 1959, triggering armed opposition by the Tutsis. In three years of civil war, 50,000 Rwandans were killed and another 100,000 (almost all Tutsi) fled the country. In Burundi, the Tutsis took advantage of their control of the army to override election results and seize political power. During the next three decades, Burundi's Tutsi-led government crushed repeated Hutu uprisings. In 1972, as many as 100,000 Hutus were killed.

Their ethnic conflict notwithstanding, the vast majority of Hutus and Tutsis alike struggled for survival as small farmers. By 1994, Rwanda, with a population of 8.4 million people, and Burundi, with 6.2 million people, were among the world's most densely populated and poorest nations. (Each country is about the size of Maryland.) Poverty and the scarcity of land played into the hands of politicians seeking to ignite ethnic tensions to further their power.

What events led to the Rwandan genocide?

In 1990, the region's problems were further complicated by the invasion of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Most of the soldiers in the rebel army were Tutsi refugees who had been living in neighboring Uganda since the early 1960s. In August 1993, a peace agreement between the rebels and the government was signed and a small UN force was put in place to oversee the accord.

Events in Burundi, however, soon reignited tensions. In October 1993, Tutsi army officers killed Burundi's first Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye, in an attempt to overthrow the new government. Burundi was plunged into violence. As many as 100,000 people, most of them Hutus, were killed.

Hutu extremists in Rwanda used the Burundi crisis as an opportunity to fan hostility against Tutsis. In April 1994, Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana was killed in a suspicious plane crash, along with the president of Burundi. Within hours of the crash, Hutu extremists executed eleven UN peacekeepers from Belgium and began carrying out a well-organized series of massacres.

What caused the international community to intervene in Rwanda?

World leaders condemned the violence in Rwanda, but balked at intervening to stop the genocide. (U.S. officials backed away from defining the killings as "genocide.") The only force that fought to bring the massacres to a halt was the Rwandan Patriotic Front, which stepped up its assault against the government after the bloodbath began.

By July 1994, the front had seized the capital and forced the army to flee in panic. Fearful of reprisals, hundreds of thousands of Hutus abandoned their homes. International forces, including 2,000 American troops, arrived after the massacres had ended to protect international relief operations for the nearly 2 million Hutu refugees. The last UN peacekeepers left Rwanda in early 1996.

How has Rwanda's conflict spilled into Congo?

The outpouring of refugees from Rwanda created a new set of problems. In eastern Zaire (renamed Congo in 1997), the refugee camps fell under the control of the Hutu extremists behind Rwanda's genocide. They organized a guerrilla army that staged raids against Rwanda's new Tutsi-led government.

The refugee crisis reached the boiling point in the fall of 1996. Hutu guerrillas, joining forces with the Zairian army, increasingly turned their guns on Tutsis who had been living in eastern Zaire for centuries. When the local Tutsis struck back, with the support of the Rwandan army, they overran key refugee camps and exposed the weakness of the Zairian army. Their military success generated momentum for a larger

uprising against the regime of Mobutu Sese Seko. In a little over seven months, a rebel movement led by Laurent Kabila drove across Zaire and forced Mobutu into exile. Human rights groups charged that the rebels massacred as many as 200,000 Hutu refugees during the civil war.

Mobutu's overthrow, however, did not bring security to Rwanda. Relations between Kabila and Rwanda soon soured, and Hutu guerrillas based in Congo stepped up their raids into Rwanda and Burundi. In August 1998, Rwanda sent troops into Congo to support a rebellion against Kabila. Within a few months, Rwandan forces had routed the Hutu guerrillas and helped the rebels seize nearly half of Congo's territory. In turn, Kabila openly allied himself with the Hutu militias.

How is Rwanda recovering from the genocide?

Even as civil war in Congo rages, Rwanda's government has taken steps to heal the wounds of Tutsi-Hutu conflict within Rwanda. Almost all of the Hutu refugees have returned home. Local elections have been held and Hutus have been appointed to top government positions, including the presidency. Nonetheless, memories of the 1994 genocide remain fresh. Intermarriage and close friendships between Tutsis and Hutus are no longer common. Moreover, Rwanda's poverty, which has worsened since 1994, threatens to touch off further ethnic conflict.

> *Rwanda has a problem. On the surface, things are becoming normal. But some of the flowers which are flowering have bodies beneath them.*
>
> *—Esther Mujaway, Rwandan counselor*

How has Tutsi-Hutu conflict touched Burundi?

In neighboring Burundi, there has likewise been progress in overcoming divisions between Tutsis and Hutus. After the death of President Ndadaye in 1993, order in Burundi all but collapsed. Violence between the Tutsi-led army and Hutu militias claimed at least 100,000 lives. In 1996, a Tutsi army officer, Pierre Buyoya, seized power and promised to stop the bloodshed. Buyoya's tactics prompted African leaders to impose an economic embargo against Burundi.

By 1999, Buyoya's policies convinced his African counterparts to lift the embargo. He has opened negotiations with Hutu leaders, removed his ban on political parties, and restored the parliament. As in Rwanda, however, Tutsi domination of Burundi's economy and the military continues to fuel resentment among Hutus.

Although U.S. officials acknowledge that resolving the Tutsi-Hutu conflict is critical to peace in central Africa, the United States has kept its distance from the region since 1994. Rather than planning for American troops to take part in future peacekeeping missions, U.S. officials have encouraged African countries to take the lead. To that end, the Clinton administration has undertaken a small-scale program to train and equip a quick-response peacekeeping force drawn from African nations. U.S. economic assistance has also been tailored to promote regional stability.

Conclusion

The five case studies discussed here represent only a handful of the world's trouble spots. They are among the conflicts that have captured worldwide attention. Others have been largely ignored. Even as American troops intervened in Somalia in December 1992, the human suffering in neighboring Sudan was at least as horrific, and yet no action was taken. The contrast raises fundamental questions about U.S. policy toward international intervention.

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy on this issue. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on our country's role in the world and our relationship with the UN. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft future policy. At the end of this unit, you will be asked to make your own choices about where U.S. policy should be heading.

Options in Brief

Option 1 — Cooperate to Strengthen the UN

World history has reached a pivotal moment. Today, the international community is poised as never before to work together to address global problems. The great powers now share a common interest in promoting peace and tackling the issues that affect the entire planet. At this historic juncture, the United States should focus its energies on strengthening the United Nations — the only institution capable of addressing the challenges of the 21st century. We should join ranks with other countries under the UN umbrella to devise a comprehensive strategy to respond promptly to the world's many conflicts. The international community must let the world's aggressors know that they will be punished.

Option 2 — Protect Our Interests

With the end of the Cold War, the United States must now pick its way through a tangle of shifting alliances and conflicting interests. In the matter of intervening abroad, that means that the United States must carefully choose where and how it gets involved. The United States needs to maintain important trading partnerships, control the spread of nuclear weapons, and prevent a flood of refugees from overwhelming us and our allies. Our judgment must not be clouded by the latest television newscasts. Ultimately, we must do what is required to protect U.S. interests.

Option 3 — Keep Our Distance

America's obsession with foreign affairs during the four decades of the Cold War came at an enormous price. Today, we can put the mindset of the Cold War to rest once and for all. We must strike a new balance between international and domestic issues — a balance that addresses the real concerns of Americans. The United States should not take part in the international community's efforts to intervene in conflict areas. Rather, we must recognize that the peace and stability of the world is best served by respecting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Option 4 — Stand Up for Principle

Since our country was founded, the world has turned to the United States for inspiration and leadership. We have led the way in developing a society based on democracy and liberty. Today, the United States has a greater role than ever to play in the world. As the only remaining superpower, we are in a position to advance the American values of democracy and human rights throughout the globe. The United States should let the world know that we will take the lead in intervening abroad to nurture the values of democracy and human rights. When people are dying at the hands of ruthless tyrants, we must exercise leadership, not get caught up in the endless debates of the UN.

Option 1

Cooperate to Strengthen the UN

World history has reached a pivotal moment. Today, the international community is poised as never before to work together to address global problems. The divisions that paralyzed the UN Security Council during the Cold War have passed. The rapid expansion of trade and advances in technology have linked the fate of each country to the international community. The great powers now share a common interest in promoting peace and tackling the issues that affect the entire planet, such as environmental pollution, AIDS, and the worldwide refugee crisis. At this historic juncture, the United States should focus its energies on strengthening the United Nations — the only institution capable of addressing the challenges of the 21st century. A key element in our commitment to global cooperation must be the active pursuit of conflict resolution through the UN.

The United States should join ranks with other countries under the UN umbrella to devise a comprehensive strategy to respond promptly to the world's many conflicts. The international community needs a set of principles to guide its actions. We must draw a line on genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other intolerable violations of human rights. The international community must let the world's aggressors know that they will be punished. We must assure minority groups that the international community will protect them from wide-scale violations of their rights at the hands of their governments. As the UN Charter envisioned, conflict prevention should be emphasized to resolve disputes before they lead to violence. Where violence has broken out, the UN must intervene swiftly to stop the killing and limit human suffering. To achieve effective global cooperation, a consensus among the great powers is essential. The United States is the linchpin. Our country must be careful to maintain good relations not only with Western Europe and Japan, but also with Russia, China, India, Brazil, and other powers of the developing world. The future of the planet depends on our commitment.

Policy guidelines

- The United States should provide troops and funding to form a permanent peacekeeping force under UN command.
- The United States should join other countries to help craft a set of principles to guide UN intervention in areas of conflict.
- The United States should help strengthen the UN's capacity to identify and resolve conflicts before they turn violent.
- The United States should do its share to enforce economic sanctions and support diplomatic initiatives undertaken by the UN.
- The United States should seek to maintain a consensus among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, paying special attention to the concerns of Russia and China.

Principal beliefs

- A strong, effective UN is essential if we are to cope with the world's problems.
- The world's leading powers today share a common interest in preventing conflict.
- A UN peacekeeping force would develop the same standards of professionalism and competence found in the U.S. military.

How would Option 1 respond to the following conflicts?

Bosnia: The United States should remain committed to carrying out the Dayton accord under the direction of the UN and to working closely with Russia, Britain, France, and Germany.

Kosovo: The United States should encourage Russian involvement in bringing peace and self-government to Kosovo, while keeping the province within Yugoslavia.

The Kurds in northern Iraq: The United States should help the UN to peacefully resolve the dispute between the Kurds and the Iraqi government.

Haiti: The United States should work under the authority of the UN to lend economic, diplomatic, and, if necessary, military support to restore peace and democracy to Haiti.

Rwanda and Burundi: The United States should participate fully — with peacekeeping troops and financial support if needed — in a broad UN program to resolve the Hutu-Tutsi conflict.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Setting and enforcing international standards of behavior for governments worldwide will stop even the most ruthless tyrants from abusing their citizens, and will convince minority groups that they do not need to turn to violence and secession as an answer to their problems.

2. Global cooperation to resolve conflicts will reduce the overall risk of war, promote stable trade relations, and over time allow the United States to reduce its military spending.

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3. UN success in stopping violent conflicts will strengthen the international community's hand in addressing environmental pollution, AIDS, and other global problems.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Requiring American soldiers to serve under the misguided command of the UN will inevitably result in the death of our country's troops in conflicts that are of no interest to the United States.

2. Turning over decision-making power to the UN will undercut the ability of the United States to respond swiftly and decisively to international crises.

3. Because of the need to maintain a consensus in the UN Security Council, our country will have to overlook the human rights abuses and aggressive foreign policies of China and Russia.

4. Giving the UN the green light to expand its peacekeeping efforts will require American taxpayers to pay billions of dollars more to support UN efforts.

5. Accepting the UN's belief that political messages can be delivered through limited military action will subject the United States to the same philosophy that left American troops frustrated and vulnerable in the Vietnam War.

Option 2

Protect Our Interests

The end of the Cold War has turned back the clock of history. Our country is no longer focused on containing the global ambitions of a rival superpower. Rather, the United States must pick its way through a tangle of shifting alliances and conflicting interests. Although the Cold War may have blurred our memory, this complex state of affairs is the norm in international relations. We cannot change the way of the world. On the contrary, we must accept reality and craft our policies accordingly. In the matter of intervening abroad, that means that the United States must carefully choose where and how it gets involved. Our country has real interests in the world. For example, the United States needs to maintain important trading partnerships, control the spread of nuclear weapons, and prevent a flood of refugees from overwhelming us and our allies. The United States cannot afford to withdraw into a shell. But neither should we launch any grand crusade to save the world.

The United States should intervene only in conflicts where our interests are directly affected. We need to pay attention to conflicts that threaten to disrupt our trade relations or trigger an outpouring of refugees headed for our borders. In contrast, conflicts in distant regions in which we have few interests, such as Rwanda or Burundi, should be ignored. Our judgment must not be clouded by the latest television newscasts. Whenever possible, we should use the UN as a tool to achieve our goals. International organizations are worth preserving. Ultimately, however, we must do what is required to protect U.S. interests. When necessary, we should not hesitate to act independently of the UN. Others may dream of an international system based on justice, unity, and goodwill, but for now the United States must look out for itself.

Policy guidelines

- The United States should oppose the formation of a permanent UN peacekeeping force.
- The United States should intervene only in conflicts that directly affect our interests or the interests of our main trading partners and military allies.
- The United States should respond to conflicts abroad on a case-by-case basis, not by following a rigid set of principles.
- The United States should use force only to accomplish well-defined military missions, and insist that American troops serve exclusively under U.S. command.
- The United States should work most closely with our key allies in Western Europe, East Asia, and North America to resolve conflicts abroad and control the movement of refugees.

Principal beliefs

- The end of the Cold War has left the world more unstable and unpredictable.
- The UN may occasionally serve as a useful foreign policy tool, but strengthening its authority should not be a U.S. priority.
- We should not expect the world's leading powers to share a common set of goals in addressing international conflicts.

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How would Option 2 respond to the following conflicts?

Bosnia: The United States should press for a lasting settlement by recommending that Bosnia be divided into three ethnically cohesive states.

Kosovo: The United States should seek to resolve once and for all the territorial dispute between the Serbs and Albanians over Kosovo, even if the solution requires redrawing borders and exchanging populations.

The Kurds in northern Iraq: The United States should use its presence in northern Iraq to contain the ambitions of the regime of Saddam Hussein.

Haiti: The United States should act independently to maintain stability in Haiti and to prevent the outflow of Haitian refugees.

Rwanda and Burundi: The United States should support international efforts to prevent the Tutsi-Hutu conflict from setting off crises in other Central African countries.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Responding to conflicts on a case-by-case basis will allow U.S. leaders to exercise a full range of diplomatic, economic, and military options.

2. Basing decisions on a clear calculation of U.S. interests will enable our country to concentrate American resources on conflicts that matter most to the United States.

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3. Developing a practical, common-sense policy on international intervention will allow our leaders to efficiently restructure the military to meet a clearly defined purpose.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Selfishly pursuing our own interests in international intervention will harm our relations with other countries in the UN.

2. Meddling in the affairs of other countries will inevitably entangle the United States in long-term, no-win disputes and cost American lives.

3. Intervening in conflicts only where direct U.S. interests are at stake will leave aggressive regimes unchecked in much of the world.

4. Charting a foreign policy that tramples on respected international principles and undermines the role of the UN will weaken the foundations of the entire international system.

5. By intervening abroad to defend narrow U.S. interests, the United States will provoke Russia, China, and other great powers to likewise use force on their own to protect their national interests.

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Option 3

Keep Our Distance

America's obsession with foreign affairs during the four decades of the Cold War came at an enormous price. While we poured hundreds of billions of dollars into building up our military and sacrificed thousands of lives in distant wars, America's cities decayed, our educational system declined, and our budget deficits soared. For the rest of the world, our pattern of intervention did not bring peace and prosperity. On the contrary, in many regions U.S. involvement bred resentment and hostility toward our country. Today, we can put the mindset of the Cold War to rest once and for all. Our government's foreign policy cowboys must be reined in. We must strike a new balance between international and domestic issues — a balance that addresses the real concerns of Americans. We cannot afford to sacrifice our economic interests, especially our key trading relationships, by sticking America's nose into problems around the world.

The United States should not take part in the international community's efforts to intervene in conflict areas. Rather, we must recognize that the peace and stability of the world is best served by respecting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Of course, there will continue to be violations of human rights. But no international system is capable of eliminating these abuses. What we can no longer afford is the arrogance and self-righteousness that we have used to justify our country's history of international intervention in the 20th century. U.S. troops should be sent abroad only when American lives are at stake. The extent of our involvement in conflict resolution should be limited to the Western Hemisphere and should not go beyond diplomatic initiatives and economic sanctions. Let us recall that our country's founders sought to make the United States a model for the world, not its policeman.

Policy guidelines

- The United States should not become involved in conflicts outside of the Western Hemisphere and should substantially reduce its financial contribution to UN peacekeeping operations.
- The United States should not send troops abroad unless American lives are in danger and should discourage American businesses and humanitarian groups from operating in conflict-torn areas.
- The United States should, at most, serve as a mediator or impose economic sanctions to resolve conflicts in the Western Hemisphere.
- The United States should uphold the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity as the foundation of the international system.
- The United States should not allow the internal conflicts of other countries to take priority over our foreign trade ties and diplomatic relations.

Principal beliefs

- Most conflicts overseas pose virtually no threat to America's security.
- American notions of democracy and human rights count for little in most of the world.
- The UN by nature is inefficient, corrupt, and poorly managed.

How would Option 3 respond to the following conflicts?

Bosnia: The United States should withdraw its peacekeeping troops from UN operations in Bosnia and elsewhere in the Balkans.

Kosovo: The United States should turn over responsibility for resolving the Kosovo problem to its European allies.

The Kurds in northern Iraq: The United States should end its presence in northern Iraq.

Haiti: The United States should serve as a neutral mediator to promote a compromise among the conflicting political forces in Haiti.

Rwanda and Burundi: The United States should not take part in UN operations in Central Africa, and should discourage American relief agencies from playing a large role in the region.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Keeping American troops out of the world's conflicts will improve the U.S. image abroad and remove a potential source of friction with many of our trading partners.

2. Rejecting international intervention will permit us to cut our military spending and shift our resources to solving problems here at home.

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3. Supporting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity will contribute to the stability of the international system.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Cutting our ties to UN peacekeeping efforts will leave the international community incapable of coping with conflicts around the world and will fuel global instability.

2. Abandoning our international commitments will spark resentment among our closest allies and damage our international reputation.

3. Staying aloof from the UN will undermine the ability of the international community to deal with environmental pollution, AIDS, and other global problems.

4. Ignoring conflicts outside of the Western Hemisphere that threaten our vital interests will come back to haunt us in the form of broken trade relations, refugee crises, and even the spread of nuclear weapons.

5. America's failure to play an active role in the international arena will give encouragement to the enemies of democratic values and human rights.

Option 4

Stand Up for Principle

Since our country was founded, the world has turned to the United States for inspiration and leadership. We have led the way in developing a society based on democracy and liberty. We have stood up to aggression in two world wars and the Cold War. We have held up the banner of human rights and faced down regional bullies. Our country's mission continues today. The United States has a greater role than ever to play in the world. As the only remaining superpower, we are in a position to advance the American values of democracy and human rights throughout the globe. That does not mean that we should become involved in every conflict, but the United States should take a stand to defend essential values. Where democratic movements are under attack, as in China and Myanmar, the United States cannot turn a blind eye. We must speak out and, within reason, take action.

The United States should let the world know that we will take the lead in intervening abroad to nurture the values of democracy and human rights. Brutal dictators must be warned that the United States will not watch from the sidelines while they torture and murder their own citizens to crush popular movements. Wherever possible, the United States should work within the framework of the UN. We cannot, however, allow our freedom of action to be tied down by the political divisions and bureaucratic red tape of the UN. When people are dying at the hands of ruthless tyrants, we must exercise leadership — not get caught up in the endless debates of the UN. As the Persian Gulf War showed, the rest of the world will follow when the United States acts decisively.

Policy guidelines

- The United States should develop a special military force to intervene in conflicts abroad.
- The United States should define a set of principles that will govern U.S. intervention abroad.
- The United States should not allow U.S. troops to serve under UN command.
- The United States should cooperate most closely with countries that share our commitment to democracy and human rights, such as Canada, the Western European nations, and Japan.
- The United States should seek UN support to resolve conflicts in which our country has decided to take action.

Principal beliefs

- U.S. foreign policy should be guided by the values and ideals that underlie our country's political system.
- The United States must take the lead in the international arena to uphold the principles of democracy and human rights.
- The principle of state sovereignty should not prevent the United States from intervening abroad to stop governments from brutalizing their own citizens.

How would Option 4 respond to the following conflicts?

Bosnia: The United States should ensure that the Bosnian Serbs are not allowed to reap the rewards of their barbaric tactics and that the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing are brought to justice.

Kosovo: The United States should stand behind the right of the people of Kosovo to determine their own future, even if that means detaching the province from Yugoslavia.

The Kurds in northern Iraq: The United States should honor our commitment to protect the Kurds of northern Iraq as long as necessary.

Haiti: The United States should commit the economic aid and military backing necessary to lay the groundwork for establishing democracy.

Rwanda and Burundi: The United States should support efforts to punish the organizers of genocide and act decisively to prevent the repetition of such crimes against humanity.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Standing up for democratic values and human rights will increase respect for the United States worldwide and will enable us to steer the other countries of the UN to ultimately accept our position.

2. Acting decisively on our own will enable the United States to quickly stop cases of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other crimes against humanity.

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3. Taking a strong stand against the enemies of democracy and human rights will strike directly against the aggressive dictatorships that are responsible for most of the world's conflicts.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. By launching a moral crusade, Americans will often find themselves fighting and dying alone in remote areas of the world that do not affect our vital interests.

2. Taking the lead in resolving the world's conflicts will force us to maintain a huge military at a time when we are struggling to hold down government spending.

3. Trying to uphold lofty principles of democracy and human rights will bring us into conflict with China and other powerful nations.

4. Striking out on our own will undermine the UN consensus on international intervention that has gradually emerged over the past few years.

5. Taking a threatening stance against non-democratic governments will harm our ability to communicate with the countries most likely to be involved in conflicts and will encourage oppositions groups to pursue their causes through violence.

Supplementary Documents

The Charter of the United Nations

Submitted June 26, 1945

We the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

and for these ends

to practice tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Chapter I
Purposes and Principles

Article 1

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article I, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nation every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventative or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter;

but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Chapter VI
Pacific Settlement of Disputes

[Below are the two chapters of the UN Charter that directly address the UN's role in resolving international conflicts and countering aggression.]

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute , or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions in the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Chapter VII
Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall

be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or positions of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and faculties, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participant in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Members armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their designed action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising form the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

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and for these ends

to practice tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

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3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and

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1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nation every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventative or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter;

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but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Chapter VI
Pacific Settlement of Disputes

[Below are the two chapters of the UN Charter that directly address the UN's role in resolving international conflicts and countering aggression.]

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute , or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions in the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Chapter VII
Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall

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be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or positions of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and faculties, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participant in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Members armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their designed action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising form the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

in CSCE peacekeeping operations. Appropriate consultations by the Chairman-in-Office will take place. Participating States will be invited by the Chairman-in-Office of the CSO to contribute, on an individual basis, to an operation case by case.

36. Personnel will be provided by individual participating States.

37. Parties concerned will be consulted about which participating States will contribute personnel to the operation.

38. The Council/CSO will regularly review an operation and make any necessary decision related to its conduct, taking into account political developments and developments in the field.

Chain of Command

39. The Council/CSO will assign overall operational guidance of an operation to the Chairman-in-Office assisted by an *ad hoc* group established at the CPC. The Chairman-in-Office will chair the *ad hoc* group and, in this capacity, be accountable to it, and will receive, on behalf of the *ad hoc* group, the reports of the Head of Mission. The *ad hoc* group will, as a rule, consist of representatives of the preceding and succeeding Chairmen-in-Office, of the participating States providing personnel for the mission and of participating States making other significant practical contributions to the operation.

40. The *ad hoc* group will provide overall operational support for the mission and will monitor it. It will act as a 24-hour point of contact for the Head of Mission and assist the Head of Mission as required.

41. Continuous liaison between the operation and all participating States will be ensured by the Consultative Committee of the CPC through the regular provision of information to it by the *ad hoc* group.

42. In all cases where the CSO assigns tasks related to peacekeeping to the CPC, the Consultative Committee of the CPC will be responsible to the CSO for the execution of those tasks.

Head of Mission

43. The Chairman-in-Office, after appropriate consultations, will nominate a Head of Mission for endorsement by the CSO.

44. The Head of Mission will be responsible to the Chairman-in-Office. The Head of Mission will consult and be guided by the *ad hoc* group.

45. The head of Mission will have operational command in the mission area.

Financial Arrangements

46. Peacekeeping operations require a sound financial basis and must be planned with maximum efficiency and cost-effectiveness on the basis of clear cost projections.

47. Costs of CSCE peacekeeping activities will be borne by all CSCE participating States. At the beginning of each calendar year, the CSO will establish a reasonable ceiling for the cost of peacekeeping operations to which the CSCE scale of distribution will be applied. Beyond that limit, other special arrangements will be negotiated and agreed to by consensus. Full and timely payments will be required.

48. Additional contributions could be provided by participating States on a voluntary basis.

49. Financial accountability will be ensured by the Chairman-in-Office through regular reports to the participating States.

50. A start-up fund will, if appropriate, be established to cover the initial costs of an operation. Contributions by a participating State to the start-up fund will be deducted from that State's regular assessed share of the costs relating to the operation.

51. The Consultative Committee of the CPC is charged to submit to the CSO by the end of 1992 a recommendation with regard to financial modalities of CSCE peacekeeping operations, specifying, *inter alia*, the costs to be shared among participating States in accordance with the preceding paragraphs.

Co-operation with regional and transatlantic organizations

52. The CSCE may benefit from the resources and possible experience and expertise of existing organizations such as the EC (European Community), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the WEU (Western European Union), and could therefore request them to make their resources available in order to support it in carrying out peacekeeping activities. Other institutions and mechanisms, including the peacekeeping mechanism of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), may also be asked by the CSCE to support peacekeeping in the CSCE region.

53. Decisions by the CSCE to seek the support of any such organization will be made on a case-by-case

basis, having allowed for prior consultations with the participating States which belong to the organization concerned. The CSCE participating States will also take into account the consultations by the Chairman-in-Office regarding prospective participation in the mission, in light of the envisaged size of the operation and the specific character of the conflict.

54. Contributions by such organizations will not affect the procedures for the establishment, conduct and command of CSCE peacekeeping operations as set out in paragraphs 17 to 51 above, nor does the involvement of any such organization affect the principle that all participating States are eligible to take part in CSCE peacekeeping operations as set out in paragraph 35 above.

55. Organizations contributing to CSCE peacekeeping would carry out defined and mutually agreed tasks in connection with the practical implementation of a CSCE mandate.

56. The *ad hoc* group will establish and maintain effective communication with any organization whose resources may be drawn upon in connection with CSCE peacekeeping activities.

Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

57. The participating States consider their commitment to settle disputes among themselves by peaceful means to form a cornerstone of the CSCE process. In their view, the peaceful settlement of disputes is an essential component of the CSCE's overall ability to manage change effectively and to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

58. The participating States welcome the work done to this end by the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting. In particular they were encouraged by significant progress made on issues relating to creating a conciliation and arbitration court within the CSCE, enhancing the Valletta mechanism and establishing a CSCE procedure for conciliation including directed conciliation, for which proposals were submitted.

59. In the light of the important subject matter and of the discussions held here in Helsinki, they have decided to continue to develop a comprehensive set of measures to expand the options available within the CSCE to assist States to resolve their disputes peacefully.

Suggested Readings

Claude Jr., Inis L. *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization* (New York: Random House, 1971). 514 pages.

Callahan, David. *Unwinnable Wars : American Power and Ethnic Conflict* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998). 240 pages.

Damrosch, Lori Fisler, ed. *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993). 403 pages.

Esman, Milton J. and Telhami, Shibley, eds. *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995). 343 pages.

Gottlieb, Gidon. *Nation against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflicts and the Decline of Sovereignty* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993). 148 pages.

Halperin, Morton H. and Scheffer, David J., eds. *Self-Determination in the New World Order* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1992). 178 pages.

Ignatieff, Michael. *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into a New Nationalism* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1994). 263 pages.

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Kaplan, Robert D. *The Ends of the Earth: From Togo to Turkmenistan, from Iran to Cambodia, a Journey to the Frontiers of Anarchy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997). 476 pages.

Little, Alan and Silber, Laura. *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: Penguin Books, 1996). 384 pages.

Minear, Larry and Weiss, Thomas G. *Mercy under Fire: War and the Global Humanitarian Community* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995). 260 pages.

Weiss, Thomas G., ed. *The United Nations and Civil Wars* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995). 235 pages.

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Watson Institute for International Studies
Box 1948, Brown University
Providence, RI 02912

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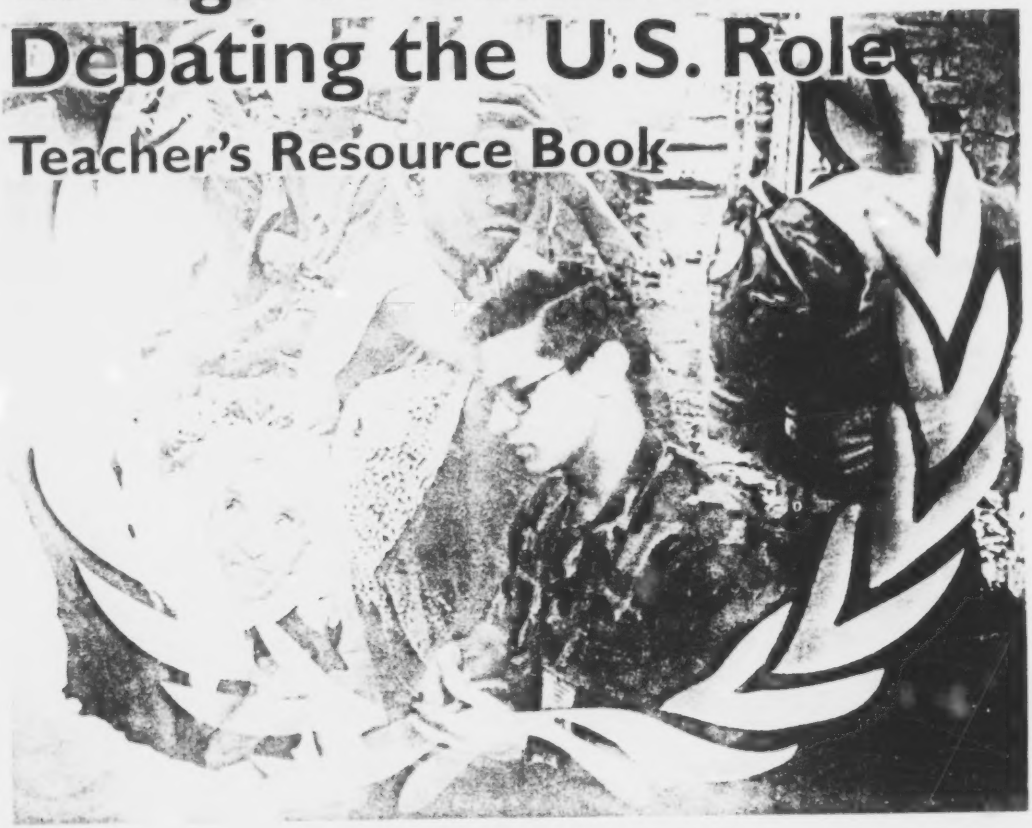
Teacher's Resource Book



PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

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Dominique Arel, *Research Associate*
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Watson Institute

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Watson Institute

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Global Security Program, Watson Institute

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CHOICES

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Director
Susan Graseck

Curriculum Developer
Mark Malkasian

Coordinator of Public Programs
Megan Secatore

Program Associates
Lucy Mueller

Staff Associate
Anne Campau Prout

Office Assistant
Cynthia Manzotti

Research Associates
Don Bakker
Patricia Keenan-Byrne

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan

About the Choices Approach ii

Note to Teachers 1

Integrating This Unit into Your Classroom 2

DAY ONE — The Challenges of International Intervention 3

Homework (before Day One): Introduction/Part I of the background reading and study guide
Homework: Part II of the background reading and study guide

DAY TWO — Considering Four Historical Case Studies 8

Homework: Part III of the background reading and study guide

DAY THREE — Role Playing the Four Options: Organization and Preparation 12

Homework: "Expressing Key Values"

DAY FOUR — Role Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion 20

Homework: "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Your Option Five"

DAY FIVE — Responding to a Crisis 22

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan 26

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom 27

"Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations"

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

Since the end of the Cold War, the international community has increasingly been called upon to intervene in the world's hot spots. The United States has taken up its share of responsibilities. U.S. military forces have bombed Yugoslavia into submission, waded ashore in Haiti, patrolled cease-fire lines in Bosnia, skirmished over the skies of northern Iraq, and protected humanitarian agencies in Somalia. Meanwhile, a new set of foreign policy questions has emerged that Americans have only just begun to consider.

Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role thrusts students into this new foreign policy frontier. The unit is particularly challenging. The first part of the background reading introduces students to the institutions and conceptual framework of the international community. In Parts II and III, students are given four historical and five current case studies to examine. Consideration of the case studies requires the highest levels of thinking from students. Not only are students asked to analyze the case studies individually, but they are expected to draw lessons from each in developing a context for evaluating the overall U.S. role in international intervention.

The four distinct policy directions, or options, at the core of the unit are designed to help students further clarify their thoughts in order to articulate their own views. Each option is grounded in a clearly defined philosophy about the U.S. role in the world and our country's relationship with the United Nations. By exploring a spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the competing values and assumptions that frame the debate on U.S. policy toward intervening abroad in civil conflicts.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The unit opens with a discussion of the concepts featured in Part I of the background reading. Day Two focuses attention on the forces that shaped the international community's role in conflict resolution during the Cold War. The third and fourth days of the lesson plan feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the four options. The lesson plan concludes with students developing their own options and applying their views to hypothetical crises. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

The lesson plan offered for *Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role* is a guide. To accommodate the unit's ambitious goals, many teachers may choose to spread the activities out over more than five days. Others will elect to reduce the reading load by eliminating some of the case studies. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about how to fit *Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role* into your curriculum.

The Legacy of European Colonialism: The seeds for many of the conflicts that have gained international prominence since the end of the Cold War were planted during the colonial era. European empire-builders drew borders that often disrupted traditional economic relationships and failed to correspond to ethnic, tribal, and religious loyalties. Moreover, they inadvertently contributed to the rise of nationalism among colonial peoples by establishing the modern Western nation-state as the model for political development. The colonial legacy has left an especially deep imprint on the evolution of Africa. In addition to assessing the impact of Western imperialism, students should consider how the communist system shaped the conflicts that have erupted in the former Soviet bloc in recent years.

U.S. Policy in Latin America: Latin America, particularly the Caribbean Basin, served as the arena for the first episodes of U.S. intervention abroad. Beginning with the Spanish-American War, the United States embarked on a period of extensive involvement in the affairs of its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. Within a few decades, the United States had assumed the role of regional policeman and had established broad economic and military ties throughout Latin America. As U.S. hegemony grew, anti-American attitudes took root in Latin America as well. The lessons from our country's involvement in the Western Hemisphere offer an insight into the prospects for international intervention in areas of conflict today.

Evolution of the United Nations: With the age of globalization upon us, the U.S. role within the United Nations is undergoing intense scrutiny. Advocates of the UN see the organization as a vehicle not only for resolving international conflicts, but also for addressing global problems such as environmental pollution, AIDS, and the migration of refugees. In contrast, critics fear that U.S. foreign policy could fall captive to the agenda of UN bureaucrats. The arguments echo the debate at the end of World War I over U.S. membership in the League of Nations. In addition, the expanding role of the UN in international affairs invites teachers to consider the conceptual underpinnings of the international community, perhaps beginning with the first diplomatic efforts in ancient times.

Restructuring the Military: The end of the Cold War and the increasing involvement of the international community in small-scale civil conflicts has forced American defense planners to re-evaluate the mission of the U.S. military. Increasingly, U.S. troops are being used to carry out humanitarian operations or serve as international peacekeepers. Critics of the trend worry that this new emphasis will hurt morale, divert resources from more conventional defense needs, and threaten combat readiness. Where does the proper balance lie? The debate surrounding this question will greatly influence the structure of the U.S. military in the 21st century.

The Challenges of International Intervention

Objectives:

Students will:
- Gain familiarity with the key concepts related to international intervention.
- Explore the often contradictory principles that govern international relations.
- Weigh the potential risks and trade-offs of policy recommendations.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read the first part of the background reading (pages 1-9 of the student text) and completed one of the accompanying study guides* (pages 4-6 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Resolving Conflict: Two Examples for Consideration" (page 7 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage — After reviewing "Study Guide — Part I," distribute "Resolving Conflict: Two Examples for Consideration." One half of the class should answer the questions under Example A while the other half should respond to Example B. Suggest that students work in pairs. After students have answered the questions, call on them to share their responses with the class.

2. Applying Principles — Explain that the two examples force students to approach the principles of state sovereignty, territorial integrity, self-determination, and minority rights from contrasting perspectives. For instance, in which example is a challenge to the notion of state sovereignty likely to be most explosive? How does the principle of self-determination influence the two scenarios? Ask students to compare the means of conflict resolution they recommended. Which example prompted the more forceful responses? What factors shaped student opinions? Call on students to explain the potential risks of their recommendations.

3. Analyzing Post-Cold War Developments — Call on students to analyze the forces shaping conflict and conflict resolution in the post-Cold War era. Note, for example, the potential dangers of the trend toward multi-party democracy in multi-ethnic societies. Ask students to explain why the recent wave of democratic elections in Africa has exacerbated ethnic tensions in many countries. In addition, examine how U.S. budget constraints and our country's friction with China and Russia affect prospects for international peacekeeping. Why, for example, have UN leaders been forced to scale back their plans for conflict resolution in recent years? How significant is the U.S. role in keeping the peace abroad?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading (pages 10-16 of the student text) and complete one of the accompanying study guides (pages 9-11 of the teacher's guide).

**Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide offers students more structure and guidance. The advanced study guide requires more analysis and synthesis.*

Day 1

Name: _____

Study Guide — Introduction and Part I

Challenges to Peacekeeping/The International Community's Changing Role

1. During the Cold War, the _____ _____ was America's chief international rival. U.S. foreign policy was focused on containing the spread of _____.

2. Two reasons that small-scale conflicts have gained prominence since the end of the Cold War are:

   a.

   b.

3. The international organization most involved in peacekeeping is the _____ _____.

4. Explain how the Thirty Years War and the Napoleonic Wars changed the international system.

   a. Thirty Years War:

   b. Napoleonic Wars:

5. Which of the following statements reflects the values of President Wilson?

   a. "World peace is possible only if the United States assumes leadership of the international system."
   b. "Establishing an international system based on justice and openness will prevent future wars."
   c. "Europe must abandon colonialism and stop meddling in the affairs of Asia and Africa."

   Explain your reasoning:

6. Three reasons that the League of Nations failed are:

   a.

   b.

   c.

7. Which of the following actions against an aggressive country would <u>not</u> be authorized under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

   a. Prohibiting international trade and investment.
   b. Using military force to repel an invasion.
   c. Redrawing the borders of the aggressive country.
   d. Imposing a naval blockade to prevent shipments of oil.

   Explain your reasoning:

8. In your own words, describe another action that could be authorized under Chapter VII.

9. The Cold War undermined the UN's ability to achieve its goals because:

10. The UN peacekeeping mission in Kashmir was considered a typical peacekeeping operation during the Cold War because:

11. Two reasons why recent UN peacekeeping missions in Cambodia and Somalia differed from peacekeeping missions of the Cold War are:

a.

b.

12. Before the Cold War, the United States intervened in the Caribbean, Central America, and Mexico primarily to:

a. Stop the spread of communism in the region.
b. Keep foreign powers from establishing military ties to the countries of Latin America.
c. Protect American security and economic interests.

Explain your reasoning:

13. During the Cold War, America's most significant intervention took place in _____ .

14. Define and explain the significance of the following terms

Term	Brief Definition	Significance in International Relations
State sovereignty		
Territorial integrity		
Self-determination		
Minority rights		
Conflict resolution		

Name:

Advanced Study Guide — Introduction and Part I

Challenges to Peacekeeping/The International Community's Changing Role

1. Why have the UN's expenses for keeping the peace risen so sharply since the late 1980s?

2. How did the Thirty Years War and the Napoleonic Wars change international attitudes toward conflict?

3. Why did President Wilson's vision for the international community crumble after World War I?

4. What steps did the founders of the United Nations take to avoid the problems of the League of Nations?

5. How did the UN's peacekeeping missions in Cambodia and Somalia differ from those in the Middle East and Kashmir?

6. Complete the following statements:

   a. Governments have relied on the principle of *state sovereignty* to protect them from:

   b. The international community has strongly defended the principle of *territorial integrity* since World War II in order to:

   c. The international community has generally viewed *self-determination* movements as a threat to peace and stability because they:

   d. Granting *minority rights* may help to avoid conflict by giving an ethnic minority:

   e. The three main approaches to conflict resolution are:

Resolving Conflict: Two Examples for Consideration

Example A

Country A is a former communist nation of 40 million people in an unstable region. Its economy is based largely on the export of oil and other natural resources. There are two main ethnic groups in Country A: the X people make up 65 percent of the population and the Y people make up 35 percent of the population. Since Country A's establishment as an independent nation, the X people have dominated the government and the military. In recent years, members of the Y minority have been increasingly removed from government jobs. Their language is no longer taught in the country's public schools. Last year, the Y people organized a national movement to campaign for better treatment. The X-controlled government reacted by using force to break up Y public gatherings and arresting leaders of the Y movement. The latest reports indicate that thousands of Ys have been killed by the army. Meanwhile, the government has closed Country A off to foreign journalists and has barred human rights organizations from entering the country.

1. *How would supporters of the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity view the conflict in Country A?*

2. *How would supporters of the principles of self-determination or minority rights view the conflict in Country A?*

3. *In your opinion, what means of conflict resolution, if any, should be applied in Country A?*

Example B

Country B is a nation of 15 million people in one of the poorest regions of the world. For nearly a century, Country B was a European-controlled colony. It gained independence after World War II. Country B is made up of many ethnic groups and clans. Under colonialism, the local population was given little opportunity to manage its own affairs. Since achieving independence, Country B has suffered from political instability. Leaders of the country's largest clans have fought to control the central government. The recent introduction of democracy has led to the formation of political parties based on ethnic and clan loyalty. Since their party gained the most votes in national elections, leaders of the Z clan have relied on force to impose their authority over the entire country. Human rights groups report that hundreds have been killed in political violence. In addition, the breakdown in law and order has put as many as 2 million people in danger of starvation. Already, 500,000 refugees from Country B have crossed into neighboring countries.

1. *How would supporters of the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity view the conflict in Country B?*

2. *How would supporters of the principles of self-determination or minority rights view the conflict in Country B?*

3. *In your opinion, what means of conflict resolution, if any, should be applied in Country B?*

Considering Four Historical Case Studies

Objectives:

Students will:

- Consider how the principles of international relations were applied to the four historical case studies.
- Analyze the impact of the Cold War on the international community's role in intervention and conflict resolution.
- Contrast U.S. interests and values with those of the international community as a whole.
- Collaborate with their classmates to formulate a group response.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the background reading (pages 10-16 of the student text) and completed one of the accompanying study guides (pages 9-11 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage — Divide the class into four groups and assign each group one of the four historical case studies reviewed in Part II of the background reading. Instruct each group to develop a collective response to the three questions in "Advanced Study Guide — Part II" for its assigned conflict. After the groups have completed the questions, call on a group spokesperson to share the responses with the class.

2. Guiding Discussion — Ask students to assess the importance of state sovereignty, territorial integrity, self-determination, and minority rights in each of the conflicts. For example, how did the issues of territorial integrity and minority rights apply to the conflict in Cyprus? Stress the impact of the Cold War on the response of the international community in each of the conflicts. Why was the UN extensively involved in Congo while the violence in East Timor was largely overlooked? How did the end of the Cold War facilitate progress on dismantling *apartheid* in South Africa? Finally, call on students to consider the differences between the response of the international community and the U.S. position in the four conflicts under consideration. How did U.S. interests and values differ from those of the international community as a whole?

3. Revisiting Cold War Conflicts — Note that each of the conflicts featured in Part II of the background reading continues to influence events today. Ask students to consider how the past record of the international community has shaped the current situation in Congo, Cyprus, South Africa, and East Timor. For example, to what extent is the present civil war in Congo a continuation of the struggle that accompanied decolonization? Could the international community have avoided the current stalemate in Cyprus by acting differently in the 1960s and 1970s?

Homework:

Students should read Part III of the background reading (pages 17-29 of the student text) and complete one of the accompanying study guides (pages 13-16 of the teacher's guide).

Name: _____ Day 2

Study Guide — Part II
Four Historical Case Studies

Congo

1. Two reasons the UN peacekeeping operation in Congo gave "peace enforcement" a bad name are:

   a.

   b.

2. The UN first intervened in Congo to oversee the withdrawal of troops from _____. The UN mission was complicated by the secession of _____ province.

3. The Cold War deepened the conflict in Congo because:

4. Since Laurent Kabila gained power in 1996, Congo has been torn by conflict because:

Cyprus

1. The island of Cyprus has been divided between its two main ethnic groups, the _____ and the _____, since the early _____.

2. Two important results of Turkey's invasion of Cyprus in 1974 were:

   a.

   b.

3. Although they are at odds over Cyprus, both Greece and Turkey are members of the _____ _____ _____, along with the United States.

4. Summarize the political goals of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus.

   Greeks:

   Turks:

South Africa

1. UN sanctions against South Africa are considered a success because they helped bring down the system of _____. As a result, _____ _____ was elected president of South Africa in 1994.

2. According to South Africa's policy of racial division, indicate which race would have typically dominated the following occupations.

Laborer in diamond mine:	__ Black	__ White	__ South Asian
Postal clerk:	__ Black	__ White	__ South Asian
Large-scale dairy farmer:	__ Black	__ White	__ South Asian
Army officer:	__ Black	__ White	__ South Asian
Maid:	__ Black	__ White	__ South Asian
Factory owner:	__ Black	__ White	__ South Asian
Small farmer:	__ Black	__ White	__ South Asian

3. Three measures taken by the international community to pressure South Africa were:

a.

b.

c.

4. Three problems facing leaders in the new South Africa are:

a.

b.

c.

East Timor

1. Three reasons the international community did not intervene in 1975 to stop Indonesia's invasion of East Timor were:

a.

b.

c.

2. The decision by _____ in 1974 to end its colonial rule over East Timor opened the door to an invasion by Indonesia's President _____. At the time, Indonesia was an important ally of the _____ _____.

3. East Timor's independence movement has gained new attention since 1998 because:

Advanced Study Guide — Part II
Four Historical Case Studies

Consider the following three questions for each of the four historical case studies:

1. *How was the conflict connected to European imperialism?*
2. *How did the Cold War influence the international response to the conflict?*
3. *What is the main lesson to be drawn from the international community's involvement in the conflict?*

Congo

1.

2.

3.

Cyprus

1.

2.

3.

South Africa

1.

2.

3.

East Timor

1.

2.

3.

Role Playing the Four Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that frame the debate on the U.S. role in conflicts abroad.
- Identify the core underlying values of the options.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part III of the background reading (pages 17-29 of the student text) and completed one of the accompanying study guides (pages 13-16 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Presenting Your Option" (page 17 of the teacher's guide) for option groups.
- "Expressing Key Values" (page 18 of the teacher's guide) for option groups.
- "National Security Council" (page 19 of the teacher's guide) for National Security Council members.

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. Option Groups — Form four groups of four students. Assign an option to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Option" and "Expressing Key Values" to the four option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to members of the National Security Council (NSC). Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Option." Emphasize that the group spokespersons are expected to both summarize the over-arching philosophy of their assigned options and explain how their options would respond to each of the five current case studies. Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. NSC Members — The remainder of the class will serve as members of the National Security Council. Distribute "National Security Council" to each NSC member. While the option groups are preparing their presentations, members of the National Security Council should develop cross-examination questions for Day Four. (See "National Security Council.") Remind NSC members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Suggestions:

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as NSC members. In larger classes, additional roles — such as those of newspaper reporter or lobbyist — may be assigned to students.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design a poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their options. In advanced classes, do not give the option groups the second page of the options. For NSC members, invite them to assume the role of a historical figure, such as Woodrow Wilson or Franklin Roosevelt.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Name: Day 3

Study Guide — Part III
Five Current Case Studies

1. The Persian Gulf War was viewed as a turning point in international relations because:

2. Intervention in _____ dealt a setback to the international community, especially after eighteen _____ troops were killed in a clash with a local militia.

Bosnia

3. Two reasons that Bosnia is seen as a test case for U.S. policy are:

   a.

   b.

4. Two reasons why Yugoslavia fell apart in the early 1990s were:

   a.

   b.

5. By the fall of 1995, the war in Bosnia had claimed more than _____ lives and left _____ million people homeless. The war also deepened divisions between Bosnia's three main ethnic groups — the _____, the _____, and the _____.

6. Three important goals of the Dayton accords that have yet to be achieved are:

   a.

   b.

   c.

7. Which statement best reflects U.S. policy toward peacekeeping in Bosnia.

   a. "Maintaining Bosnia's unity and promoting multi-ethnic cooperation is crucial for peace in the Balkans."
   b. "Our first priority must be to punish those responsible for ethnic cleansing in Bosnia."
   c. "Without a stable and prosperous Bosnia, economic growth throughout Europe will be held back."

   Explain your reasoning.

Kosovo

8. Two similarities between the situation in Kosovo and the situation in Bosnia are:

   a.

   b.

9. Kosovo officially became part of Serbia after the _____ _____ _____ of 1912. Under Tito, Kosovo's Albanians were granted substantial local _____ .

10. Three policies by Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic which fueled tension in Kosovo were:

a

b.

c.

11. Summarize the miscalculations of President Clinton and Slobodan Milosevic that led to war over Kosovo in 1999.

a. Clinton's miscalculations:

b. Milosevic's miscalculations:

12. Two of the most important effects of the war over Kosovo on international relations were:

a.

b.

13. As a result of the war over Kosovo, troops from _____ have moved in to police the province while thousands of _____ civilians have moved out.

The Kurds of Northern Iraq

14. Most of the Kurdish homeland is split between _____, _____, and _____ .

15. Four of the key events in 1991 that led to the creation of a safe haven for Kurds in northern Iraq were:

a.

b.

c.

d.

16. Three of the main problems facing the Kurds of northern Iraq are:

a.

b.

c.

Haiti

17. Three of the most prominent features of Haitian society under the Duvaliers were:

    a.

    b.

    c.

18. After the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1990, three key events which led to the U.S. intervention in Haiti in 1994 were:

    a.

    b.

    c.

19. What are the leading economic and political problems confronting Haiti?

    Economic problems:

    Political problems:

Rwanda and Burundi

20. In 1994, Rwanda was the scene of a _____ in which at least 500,000 _____ were killed in massacres organized by _____ extremists in the government.

21. Two of the historical sources of division between Hutus and Tutsis are:

    a.

    b.

22. The international community intervened in Rwanda in 1994 to:

23. Since the genocide, Rwandan forces have been involved in neighboring Congo because:

24. Which statement best reflects the challenges facing Rwanda and Burundi?

    a. Ethnic differences are likely to spark future conflict between Rwanda and Burundi.
    b. In each country, power is concentrated largely in the hands of the Tutsis although Hutus make up a majority of the population.
    c. As a result of the international response to the Rwandan genocide, both countries have come to be dominated by outside forces.

    Explain your reasoning.

Name:

Advanced Study Guide — Part III
Five Current Case Studies

Consider the following two questions for each of the five current case studies:

1. Why has this conflict led to violence? *2. How is the United States involved in this conflict?*

Bosnia

1.

2.

Kosovo

1.

2.

The Kurds of northern Iraq

1.

2.

Haiti

1.

2.

Rwanda and Burundi

1.

2.

Rank the five conflicts in terms of their significance for the United States.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

4. _____ 5. _____

Explain your reasoning:

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the National Security Council (NSC). Your assignment is to persuade the NSC that your option should be the basis for U.S. policy. You will be evaluated on how well you present your option.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. *Spokesperson:* Your job is to explain the option of your group to the NSC in a three-to-five minute presentation. You should summarize the philosophy of your option and explain how your option would address each of the five current crises reviewed in Part III of the background reading. In preparing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. You should include arguments from their areas of expertise. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your option and review the background reading to build a strong case for your option. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

2. *United Nations Adviser:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson on how your option would improve the position of the United States with respect to the UN. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading to build the strongest possible case for your option. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. *Military Adviser:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson on how your option best meets the military needs of the United States. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading to build the strongest possible case for your option. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. *Domestic Policy Adviser:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson on how your option would address our country's problems here at home. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading to build the strongest possible case for your option. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your spokesperson will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the National Security Council. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and other notes may be used, but the spokesperson should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentations, you should try to identify the weak points of the competing options. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the NSC will ask you cross-examination questions. Any member of your group may respond during the cross-examination period.

Name:

Expressing Key Values

The notion of values lies at the core of this unit. Each of the four options in this unit revolves around a distinct set of values. The opening two paragraphs of your option are devoted to making a convincing case for the values that are represented. The term "values," however, is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values.

Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, our country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. The high value many Americans place on freedom, democracy, and individual liberty rings loudly throughout U.S. history. For most of our country's existence, the impulse to spread American values beyond our borders was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. Since World War II, however, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other nation. At times, American leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of stability and security have been stressed.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. Americans are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing debate about foreign policy. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?

   a.

   b.

2. According to the values of your option, what should be the role of the United States in the world?

3. Why should the values of your option be the guiding force in our country's involvement in international conflicts?

National Security Council
The U.S. Role in International Conflicts

Your Role

You are a member of the National Security Council (NSC), a body within the executive branch of the U.S. government that advises the president on foreign policy. The NSC includes the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, and other senior advisors. As you know, international conflicts have emerged as a key focus of U.S. foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. Decisions about if and how the United States should be involved in conflict areas often have to be made quickly. The president relies on the NSC to provide him with guidance on these urgent matters. In the next couple of days, you will have an opportunity to think about the broader goals of U.S. policy. You will be introduced to four distinct approaches to international conflicts.

Your Assignment

You must decide which group presents its position most effectively. While the option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare at least one challenging question regarding each of the options. (Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of Day Four.) For example, a good question for Option 1 would be:

> *Wouldn't American soldiers assigned to a UN peacekeeping force in Option 1 be more likely to serve under incompetent foreign commanders and, as a result, be exposed to unnecessary risks?*

In addition, you should prepare at least one question regarding each of the five current case studies featured in Part III of the background reading. Your questions should be relevant to all four of the option groups and should focus on the principles and interests at stake in each of the five case studies. For example, a good question about the Kurds in northern Iraq would be:

> *According to your option, is there a danger that maintaining the safe haven for the Kurds in northern Iraq will encourage minority groups elsewhere in the world to take up arms against government authority?*

On Day Four, the four option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow National Security Council members to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the option groups.

Role Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate the leading values influencing U.S. policy toward intervening in international civil conflicts.
- Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. foreign policy.
- Compare and contrast how the four options address the five current case studies.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form" (page 21 of the teacher's guide) for the NSC members.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage — Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for members of the NSC. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the NSC members. Instruct members of the NSC to fill out the first part of their "Evaluation Form" during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. Managing the Simulation — Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the option groups. Encourage the spokespersons to speak clearly and convincingly. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" (page 30 of the teacher's guide) is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

3. Elucidating Policies — Pay special attention to how the option groups respond to the five current case studies. For example, advocates of Option 1 must be particularly concerned with maintaining the unity of the UN Security Council, even if that means turning a blind eye to human rights abuses in some parts of the world. In Option 2, concern about a potential influx of refugees dominates policy toward Haiti. Under Option 4, responding to the crimes of genocide and ethnic cleansing would take precedence over addressing other forms of human suffering.

4. Guiding Discussion — Following the presentations, invite members of the NSC to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each NSC member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination following the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read each of the four options (pages 31-38 of the student text), then moving beyond these options they should fill out "Focusing Your Thoughts" (page 23 of the teacher's guide) and complete "Your Option Five" (page 24 of the teacher's guide).

Name: Day 4

Evaluation Form
National Security Council

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?	What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?
Option 1	*Option 1*
Option 2	*Option 2*
Option 3	*Option 3*
Option 4	*Option 4*

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Responding to a Crisis

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate guidelines for U.S. policy based on personally held values and historical understanding.
- Apply their values and beliefs to hypothetical crises.
- Compare and contrast values and assumptions with classmates.

Required Reading:

Students should have read each of the four options (pages 31-38 of the student text), then moving beyond these options they should have filled out "Focusing Your Thoughts" (page 23 of the teacher's guide) and completed "Your Option Five" (page 24 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Crises on the World Stage" (page 25 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. Analyzing Beliefs — Call on members of the NSC to share their evaluations of the option groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? To what extent did the options address the concerns of Americans? Invite three or four students to share their responses to the first two questions of "Your Option Five." Ask them to identify the beliefs in "Focusing Your Thoughts" that they most strongly support.

2. Applying Student Options — Distribute "Crises on the World Stage," explaining that the three hypothetical scenarios are intended to represent a typical crisis confronting U.S. leaders. Call on the students who earlier presented their answers to "Your Option Five" to respond to the scenarios from the perspective of their options. Invite other students to assess the responses. Are they consistent with the principles that the students articulated earlier? Which interests and values are of the greatest concern to students?

3. Drawing a Line — Note that President Clinton justified U.S. intervention in Kosovo in 1999 largely in moral terms. Critics, however, were quick to charge Clinton with hypocrisy, pointing out that he had done little to stop the violence in southern Sudan, southeastern Turkey, Sierra Leone, Chechnya, or other conflict areas. Invite students to voice their own opinions on U.S. involvement in conflicts around the world.

Suggestions:

Allow students to work in pairs or small groups before sharing their responses to the hypothetical crises.

Extra Challenge:

As homework, instruct students to write a letter to a member of Congress or President Clinton expressing their views on U.S. policy toward international conflicts. The first part of the letter should summarize the ideas expressed in the first two questions of "Your Option Five." In the second part, students should offer their recommendations for U.S. policy on current conflicts.

Encourage students to explore the local dimension of the debate on U.S. intervention abroad. For example, students could be asked to contact organizations that have a deeply rooted interest in foreign policy issues. Groups such as the American Friends Service Committee, the American Legion, Amnesty International, the Chamber of Commerce, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the World Affairs Council have chapters throughout the country. Ethnic organizations and friendship societies are also active in the foreign policy arena.

Name:

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider four options on U.S. policy toward international intervention. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option on this issue.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options, with "1" being the best option for the United States to follow.

____ **Option 1: Cooperate to Strengthen the UN**

____ **Option 2: Protect Our Interests**

____ **Option 3: Keep Our Distance**

____ **Option 4: Stand Up for Principle**

Beliefs

Rate each of the statements below according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

____ Using our military power and economic influence around the world creates more enemies than friends.

____ In today's interconnected world, many serious problems can be addressed only through international cooperation.

____ The United States has a responsibility to meet its domestic needs first.

____ The world would be a better place if more countries were to adopt our country's democratic values.

____ The United States has the right and the responsibility to exert global leadership.

____ The United States must rely on its own strength to protect its interests abroad.

____ The international community has an obligation to intervene in countries that do not respect accepted standards on human rights.

____ Defining a set of principles to guide U.S. foreign policy will undercut the effectiveness of U.S. leaders to respond to international crises.

Creating Your Own Option

Your assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For instance, we should not commit ourselves to participating in a permanent UN peacekeeping force and yet expect to pursue our own policies regarding intervention abroad.

Name:

Your Option Five

Instructions: In this exercise, you will offer your own recommendations for U.S. policy. Your responses to "Focusing Your Thoughts" should help you identify the guiding values of your proposal.

1. What should be the most important principles guiding U.S. policy toward conflicts abroad?

2. What should the relationship be between the United States and the UN in the area of international intervention?

3. How would you respond to the five conflicts featured in Part III of the background reading?

Bosnia:

Kosovo:

The Kurds of northern Iraq:

Haiti:

Rwanda and Burundi:

4. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your option?

a.

b.

5. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your option?

a.

b.

Crises on the World Stage

Instructions: In this exercise, you are asked to decide how the United States should respond to three hypothetical crises in areas of conflict. You should use your answers to the "Your Option Five" worksheet as a guide to developing your recommendations.

Crisis #1 — Bosnian Muslims attack Serb forces

Muslim units in the Bosnian army have launched a large-scale offensive against Bosnian Serb forces in northwestern Bosnia. The assault follows the failure of NATO peacekeepers to protect Muslim refugees seeking to return to their homes in the area. In the weeks leading up to the military action, six Muslim refugees have been killed by Bosnian Serb police forces. Since crossing into the Bosnian Serb sector three days ago, the Bosnian army has moved swiftly toward the Croatian border. Bosnian Serb forces have been routed by the Muslim units, which are equipped with advanced U.S. tanks and artillery. Hundreds of soldiers from the Kosovo Liberation Army are also involved in the attack. Commanders of the NATO peacekeeping forces in the area have insisted that the offensive be halted, but their demands have so far been ignored. Meanwhile, they report that thousands of Serb refugees are pouring into Banja Luka, the administrative center of the Serbs in northwestern Bosnia. The refugees claim that the Bosnian army is pursuing a campaign of ethnic cleansing by killing Serb civilians and destroying their homes. The Yugoslav government has announced that its army has entered the Bosnian Serb sector and is heading for Banja Luka.

How should the United States respond?

Crisis #2 — Haiti's democratic government collapses

After the assassination of Haiti's president a week ago, widespread looting has broken out in Port-au-Prince and other Haitian cities. Sixteen Haitian police officers have been killed trying to defend government buildings, prompting most of the remaining members of the police force to abandon their duties. American forces on the island have been positioned around the U.S. embassy. The chaos has already crippled transportation and communications in Haiti. Many areas are beginning to suffer from food shortages. The U.S. Coast Guard has reported a sharp upsurge in the number of Haitian "boat people" in the Caribbean heading for American shores. Meanwhile, a group of Haitian army officers has announced its intention to restore order and form a new government. The army officers have asked for the cooperation of the international community, especially of the United States, but have said that they will oppose efforts by Haiti's democratically elected leaders to reclaim power. The army officers have warned that looters will be shot on sight. In the past twenty-four hours, their forces have gained control of Port-au-Prince's harbor.

How should the United States respond?

Crisis #3 — Saddam Hussein strikes at Kurdish safe haven

The Iraqi army has invaded the UN-protected safe haven for the Kurds in northern Iraq. Reports indicate that Saddam Hussein's elite armored units have targeted the main Kurdish population centers. The Iraqi air force has not been involved in the operation. Iraqi officials contend that the safe haven has become a base for terrorists and drug traffickers. They hold Kurdish leaders responsible for an explosion last week that tore open one of Iraq's main oil pipelines. Putting aside their internal disputes, the leading Kurdish forces have come together to block the initial Iraqi advance. Military experts, however, doubt that the Kurds will be able to resist the invasion for more than a few days. Meanwhile, thousands of Kurdish refugees are reportedly heading toward Iraq's borders with Turkey and Iran. U.S. warplanes have repeatedly flown over the battlefield but have not intervened in the fighting.

How should the United States respond?

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part I of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part I" before beginning the unit.)
Homework: Students should read Part III of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part III."

Day 2: Assign each student one of the four options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their conception of the U.S. role in the world? How does each option view the U.S. relationship with the UN? Ask students to respond to the five current case studies through the perspective of their assigned options. Moving beyond the options, ask students to imagine they are participating in a meeting of the National Security Council. Which beliefs should guide the direction of U.S. policy toward intervention abroad? Which options best accommodate the changes in international affairs since the end of the Cold War?
Homework: Students should complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Your Option Five."

Day 3: See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Project in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates
Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play-simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet is designed to help students incorporate the values into their group presentations.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

	Excellent	*Good*	*Average*	*Needs Improvement*	*Unsatisfactory*
Group Assessment					
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration.	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

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